This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

EducT
5
880

Harvard College Library

FROM

Julius R. Wakefield

3 2044 102 854 825

EducT
1265
804.880

Harvard College Library

FROM

Julius R. Wakefield

3 2044 102 854 825

1/0
Educ T 1265.804.880

66 C.H.

F. W. Stakefield
23 Hicks House

William H. Bryant
Pembroke
Mass

Oct 1st 1879

SELECT

ORATIONS OF LYSIAS.

WITH

INTRODUCTIONS AND EXPLANATORY NOTES,

BY

WILLIAM A. STEVENS, A. M.,
PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN DENISON UNIVERSITY, GRANVILLE, OHIO.

λόγῳ δὲ πεῖσαι.
Funeral Oration, 19.

THIRD EDITION.

CHICAGO:
S. C. GRIGGS AND COMPANY.
1880.

HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY
GIFT OF
JULIUS R. WAKEFIELD
FEB 26 1932

COPYRIGHT, 1876.
BY S. C. GRIGGS & CO.

UNIVERSITY PRESS: JOHN WILSON & SON,
CAMBRIDGE.

To my Father,

REV. JOHN STEVENS, D. D.,

AS A PUBLIC ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF HIS INVALUABLE COUNSEL AND ENCOURAGEMENT, ESPECIALLY DURING MY COLLEGIATE AND POST-GRADUATE STUDIES,

THIS VOLUME

IS GRATEFULLY AND AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED.

PREFACE.

THE use of the orations of Lysias with different classes during the past thirteen years has more than confirmed my first impression of their great value in a course of Greek instruction. An edition of the orations contained in this volume was completed two years ago last winter, but the manuscript was destroyed while on its way to the printer by the burning of an express-car. It had been begun at the suggestion of the late Professor Hadley, and a portion of the work had received the benefit of his critical revision, — one of the last of those unheralded services which that noble-hearted scholar, too humble and too great to covet fame, and setting all too low an estimate on his exhaustless stores of learning, was ever so generously rendering on every hand. The completion of my task for the second time — fulfilling but tardily the promise made to the publishers — has been delayed until the present by other imperative duties.

The work is especially designed as a reading-book in Attic prose, to follow the *Anabasis*. The fitness of Lysias' orations for this purpose will be better understood from the account given in the Introductory Sketch. In preparing the Notes it has been my chief aim to guide the student to a reasoned translation. It seems hardly

to be questioned that the value of translation as a mental discipline will depend mainly on the student's being able to give an intelligent account of his work, — to furnish not only the correct rendering, but the reasons for it. I have therefore made numerous grammatical references, particularly in the notes on the twelfth and the thirteenth orations, and on the twenty-second. The latter oration, and the narrative portions of the two former, will be found the most suitable for the use of younger classes. Advanced classes may profitably read the twelfth and thirteenth entire, not only for their historical value, but as specimens of argumentative composition in the forensic branch.

Some references have been made to larger grammars, and to works not accessible to the majority of students. Those teachers who read beyond their text-books will not object to these, nor to the occasional mention of parallel passages in orations not found in this volume.

Matters of fact and history have been explained to some extent, but not, it is believed, at so great a length as to interfere with the main purpose of the Notes. The Classical Dictionary and the Dictionary of Antiquities have been constantly referred to, and their use by the student is taken for granted throughout.

The text adopted is that of Scheibe (Teubner's edition). The few instances in which I have departed from it, in language or punctuation, are mentioned in the Notes. As regards the division of syllables, I have followed the rule of dividing compound words into the elements out of which they are formed; e. g. πολεμ-άρχῳ, παρ-εῖναι. This method has reason as well as the authority of Curtius and many other modern grammarians in its favor.

Use has been made of all the best authorities to which I could procure access. Of the most service have been Reiske (the fifth and sixth volumes of his *Oratorum Græcorum, Lipsiæ*, 1772); Rauchenstein (*Ausgewählte Reden des Lysias, Sechste verbesserte Auflage*); and Frohberger, (*Ausgewählte Reden des Lysias*, both the larger work in three volumes, and the abridged edition, which appeared last year). Frohberger's annotations, especially, have been a constant and indispensable help. Other commentators are mentioned in the Notes.

The elucidation of the chronology and history of the events referred to in the twelfth and thirteenth orations has been greatly aided by Scheibe's *Die oligarchische Umwälzung zu Athen am Ende des peloponnesischen Krieges; Leipzig*, 1841. The principal historical references in the notes are to the histories of Grote and Curtius.

In the preparation of the introductions, among other authorities, I have found of great value Friedrich Blass's *Attische Beredsamkeit*. While rewriting my Introductory Sketch Professor R. C. Jebb's two volumes on the *Attic Orators from Antiphon to Isæos* came to hand, bringing much fresh and stimulating suggestion. I am glad to call the attention of any who may read these pages to that work as one of the most useful contributions to the history of Greek literature that English scholarship has for many years produced. An interesting monograph on the style of Lysias is *Des Caractères de l'Atticisme dans l'Eloquence de Lysias*, by Jules Girard, Paris, 1854.

My thanks are due Professor J. R. Boise, of the University of Chicago, for various timely suggestions. For information on certain legal technicalities and points of contrast between the ancient and modern codes, I am

indebted to Samuel J. Thompson, Esq., of Cincinnati, a gentleman who in spite of the demands of an exacting profession has kept fresh his interest in classical studies and the problems of the higher education. Especially do I desire to make full acknowledgment of the help I have received from my colleague in instruction, Mr. Charles Chandler. He has aided me in the revision of the larger part of the manuscript, and also in the proof-reading. His accurate scholarship, combined with rare taste and judgment, has made his heartily rendered assistance of very great value, adding not a little to the service which I trust this book may render to classical students and the cause of sound learning.

GRANVILLE, OHIO, April 26, 1876.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Page

PREFACE v

INTRODUCTORY SKETCH OF LYSIAS AND HIS WRITINGS:

I. The Life of Lysias xi

II. His Style xv

III. His Genius and Character xxii

IV. His Writings xxvii

ORATIONS.

XII. AGAINST ERATOSTHENES:

Introduction 3

Text 8

XIII. AGAINST AGORATUS:

Introduction 34

Text 37

VII. CONCERNING THE SACRED OLIVE-TREE:

Introduction 64

Text 67

XXII. AGAINST THE GRAIN-DEALERS:

Introduction 78

Text 80

II. FUNERAL ORATION:

Introduction 87

Text 91

NOTES.

NOTES ON ORATION XII. 115
" " " XIII. 142
" " " VII. 162
" " " XXII. 170
" " " II. 175
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE 191

INTRODUCTORY SKETCH

OF

LYSIAS AND HIS WRITINGS.

I. THE LIFE OF LYSIAS.

LYSIAS, a native, though not a citizen of Athens, was a Sicilian Greek by descent, a son of Cephalus of Syracuse. The year of his birth is altogether uncertain. In the "Lives of the Ten Orators," a work formerly attributed to Plutarch, 459 B. C. is the date assigned, but there are reasons for believing it to be merely an unfounded inference on the part of the writer. The year 444 B. C. is the date fixed upon by K. F. Hermann after an exhaustive investigation of the chronology of the subject, and the greater number of modern critics are inclined to adopt his view. Others, as Westermann, fix the year so late as 432. Rauchenstein, and more recently Jebb, lean to the ancient opinion. On the whole, the correctness of the year 444 as an approximate date is strongly favored by the fact that it best explains the few historical statements that have come down to us concerning Lysias and his father, and the relation in which they stood to their contemporaries. It is known that he lived to the age of eighty, — from 444 to 364, if the date here assumed be the true one.

Cephalus, the father, was a man of wealth and culture who had been induced by Pericles to take up his residence in Athens. There four children were born to him, — three sons, Polemarchus, Lysias, and Euthydemus, and one daughter. His dwelling in the Piræus was the abode of hospitality; Socrates and his friends often met at

the table of the genial old man. There Plato has laid the opening scene of the greatest of his works, the Republic, and Cephalus is honored with a worthy part in the conversation. In this home of luxury, culture, and rare discourse, Lysias remained till his fifteenth year, enjoying along with the youth of the most distinguished families the best education that Athens could afford.

The next seventeen or eighteen years were passed in Thurii, a flourishing Greek colony of Lower Italy, whither he had gone with his brother Polemarchus after their father's death. Of the extent and character of their business operations in that city we are not informed. Lysias gave himself chiefly to learned pursuits, his studies taking a rhetorical direction under Tisias, the famous rhetor of Syracuse. Rhetoric, the art of discourse, then embraced a wide range of topics; with the Sicilians it was, in a special sense, the art of beautiful diction (εὐέπεια). The studies comprehended under the name of rhetoric formed no small part of the intellectual movement of the age. Lysias threw himself with ardor into these studies, and soon became a proficient in the highly artificial and ornate style of the school in which he was trained. If we were to judge solely from Plato's representations in the Phædrus, his earlier productions must have displayed the defects quite as strikingly as the merits of this school. But the grounds are slender for taking the composition given in that dialogue as a specimen of the art of Lysias. It is more than likely that Plato's contempt for the sham rhetoric that filled the ears of the multitude with sounding phrases led him to do injustice to Lysias, who was reputed at the time of the composition of that dialogue to be the leading rhetor in Athens, and was therefore in Plato's view one of the chief promoters of a demoralizing tendency in literature and education.

The overthrow of the Athenian party in Thurii, after the destruction of the Sicilian Expedition, brought the two brothers back to Athens. This was in 411. Their lives seem hitherto to have been led in close intimacy, and they now continued their partnership, carrying on a large shield manufactory which employed a hundred and twenty slaves. It stood adjoining the residence of Lysias, in the Piræus. Polemarchus resided in the upper city. They also had real estate in Athens (three dwelling-houses are mentioned in the Oration *Against Eratosthenes*), funds that had been invested abroad, besides (in the year 404) a large sum of gold and silver coin

kept in Lysias's own house. But business was not allowed to absorb their attention. We find Lysias soon taking rank as the foremost rhetorician and speech-composer (λογογράφος) in the city. It was a profession exposed to a certain degree of unpopularity, because, among other reasons, it was with many a money-making employment. In Lysias's case, however, it was during this period merely the employment of his scholarly leisure, being indeed about the only avenue to distinction open to a foreigner of his tastes and inclinations.

How his prospects were changed by the Year of Anarchy, how his brother was seized for summary execution by the tyrants, and all their property within reach confiscated, while he himself barely escaped by secret flight, — is best learned from the orator's own account in the Oration *Against Eratosthenes*. During the exile he proved his attachment to his native city, and his devotion to the cause of freedom. He rendered various services to the exiled democrats, and it is especially mentioned that he furnished to Thrasybulus while at Phyle two thousand drachmas, two hundred shields, and a reinforcement of three hundred hired troops. His services were not forgotten by Thrasybulus after the restoration; a decree was passed admitting him to full citizenship. But immediately afterwards, on account of some technical irregularity, it was reconsidered and rejected as illegal at the instance of a jealous opponent of Thrasybulus. Lysias remained therefore in his previous status as an ἰσοτελής, a resident possessed of special civic privileges, but without suffrage or eligibility to office.

The year of exile over, he set himself first of all, after the re-establishment of the old order of government, to bring to justice the man most directly concerned in the murder of his brother. This was Eratosthenes, who was still in the city. It was a custom of ancient sanction that the nearest kinsmen of a murdered man should be his avengers, taking the necessary legal measures to secure the conviction and execution of the murderer. In order to accomplish this Lysias would be obliged to appear in person before a court of Athenian citizens, and that at a time when it was peculiarly difficult to gain an impartial hearing. Party spirit was never more rife; the civil war was over, but its clashing feuds and passions remained. For such business as was now in hand the training that Lysias had received was not the best. In an Athenian dicastery, and above

all at a time like this, the studied elegances and the well-turned phrases and periods of the Sicilian manner were ineffective weapons. The contests in the courts were like hand-to-hand fights, where every moment counted, and each stroke must be made to tell. In many classes of actions the law restricted each speaker to a certain time. There were also other more or less distinctly defined traditionary requirements as to the topics, the classes of arguments and their order, and the methods of appeal, while at the same time it was necessary to meet the demand of an Athenian audience for artistic excellence. But how well Lysias discerned the exigencies of the occasion as he prepared himself for this celebrated prosecution, and how he so mastered the situation, as, if not to gain his case, yet to create a new style of forensic oratory, and thereby, as Otfried Müller declares, to inaugurate a new era in the history of Attic prose, — this is to be learned from the Oration *Against Eratosthenes*, the first given in this volume. It is historically the beginning of the school of oratory that reached its most perfect development in Demosthenes. From the time of this oration a new style of discourse began to be heard from the Athenian bema, — an eloquence founded on nature and truth, but aiming at ideal excellence under the conscious guidance of art.

Whether he obtained a verdict, we are not informed. But from that day he was the first advocate in Athens, the recognized master in forensic oratory. The courts during the years immediately following were crowded with cases. It was difficult for the most peaceably inclined to avoid litigation. In the humorous complaint that Lysias puts into the mouth of a wealthy client, matters had come to such a pass that even the unborn children of Athenians shuddered to think of the litigation in prospect for them when they should come into the world. Now the average man might not care to trust to his own legal or rhetorical skill, and the services of an able speech-writer would be in demand. An advocate could render better service to his client by writing a speech for him to deliver, than by personally appearing in court to assist in the conduct of the case. Lysias, therefore, deprived of his fortune, became a professional logographer, and during the remainder of his long life was so successful in his practice, that, out of all the cases intrusted to him, he lost, we are told, but two.

Little is known of his subsequent career. Cicero relates, but the

story is not well authenticated, that when Socrates was awaiting his trial, Lysias brought him a carefully written plea for his defence, which, however, the philosopher declined to use. It has been supposed that he took a more prominent part in political affairs after his reputation in practical oratory had become established, but as to this we have no certain information. A passage in Oration XIX. speaks of his having been member of an embassy to Syracuse, to the court of Dionysius the Elder, but the reading is disputed. Once he becomes a conspicuous figure to all Greeks, and this is his last appearance on the page of the historian. It was in 388 B. C. (according to Diodorus), at Olympia. Dionysius the tyrant of Syracuse had sent a magnificently equipped legation to represent him at the Olympic games, — four-horse chariots to contend in the race-course, distinguished rhapsodists to recite his praises, tents richly adorned with purple and gold, — a spectacle of dazzling splendor such as the festival for many years had not witnessed. But patriotic Greeks could not forget the oppressions exercised upon their countrymen, and the conquests over Greeks by which Dionysius had augmented his power. Lysias gave expression to the popular indignation in one of the patriotic orations that had come to be a part of the quadrennial celebration. In this discourse, of which a fragment only remains, he denounced the Sicilian tyrant and the Persian king as the two great enemies of the Hellenic world. As Diodorus relates (see the fuller narration given by Grote, Vol. XI. pp. 29–34), the multitude were powerfully wrought upon by the speaker, and at once carried away by the impulse of the hour, made a violent assault upon the tents of the legation. At all events the legation proved, so far as its political design was concerned, a complete failure.

II. HIS STYLE.

The style of Lysias is peculiarly difficult to describe, or to illustrate by quotation of detached passages. Each of his orations must be read as a whole in order to appreciate its character as a work of art, — such a work of art as goes far to satisfy Plato's requirement in a discourse, that it should possess a sculpturesque beauty like that of the idealized human form. The writings of

Lysias have for us a twofold significance: besides being the products of a rare literary genius, a collection unique in forensic oratory, they constitute an epochal creation in Attic prose, marking a new stage of advance in the literary development of Greece. I shall here only enumerate briefly the leading characteristics of his style as compared with that of other writers, and thereby attempt to reach a statement of the fundamental principles of that department of art in which he was in that age a creator, and still remains an acknowledged model.

In regard to the diction and composition of Lysias, modern critics, to the extent that they find themselves competent, have but confirmed the judgment of the ancients, particularly Dionysius of Halicarnassus. The latter made his style the subject of a special treatise. He pronounces Lysias the standard of Atticism, particularly of the so-called "plain" style (*ἰσχνόν*, Lat. *tenue**), as distinguished from the "grand."

His diction is the purest Attic, not the old Attic, Dionysius tells us, which Plato and Thucydides sought to retain, but the current idiom of his own day. He uses the best vernacular of contemporaneous Athens. Though he was of Sicilian parentage, and had lived a number of years in Italy, he is, in respect to the choice of words, an Athenian of the Athenians. It is Quintilian whose cutting criticism exposes the fatal defect of the Asiatic school of oratory as contrasted with the Attic; the former fails, he says, in finding the proper word. Now Lysias has the conspicuous merit of always having at his command right words (*κύρια ὀνόματα*), the nearest and best understood words to express the things meant. Thus he selects the concrete rather than the abstract, the specific rather than the general, and avails himself of the materials of current speech in preference to those drawn from poetry and the grandiloquent, semi-poetic diction of the then prevailing oratory. It is to be remembered that prose was not yet freed from the trammels of poetry; it was an almost unheard-of thing that the literary artist could abandon metre, and mould his creations from

* "According to Cicero the chief marks of the 'genus tenue' are these:—

"1. 'In regard to composition, a free structure of clauses and sentences, not straining after a rhythmical period. 2. In regard to diction, (*a*) purity, (*b*) clearness, (*c*) propriety. 3. Abstemious use of rhetorical figures.'"

JEBB'S *Attic Orators*, Vol. I. p. 162.

the clay of common speech. The success of Lysias in this direction drew admiration even in the times of Dionysius. The latter says: "He seems to talk like the uneducated, but yet in a manner superior to them. He is a master composer in the unmetrical style, having found a peculiar harmony, by which his diction avoids clumsiness and vulgarity, and becomes elegant and graceful."

In regard to composition his style stands in marked contrast with that of Isocrates. The elaborate periods of the latter are famous. His long and flowing sentences, framed with symmetrical completeness, and obeying with the nicest care the rules of euphony and rhythm, were the delight of many of the ancient rhetoricians. Lysias adopted a looser, freer structure, more like the language of conversation, yet not without an artistic finish and rhythmical movement of its own.

In general it may be said that his style is characterized by the primal merits of perspicuity, force, and beauty. Its simplicity and terse directness contribute in a marked degree to its perspicuity. Absence of embellishment is a noticeable feature; there are few rhetorical figures. The orator seems unwilling to have the attention diverted for an instant from the clear, sharp outlines of his narrative or argument. He presses on *certo agmine*, "with unerring march," — to use a phrase of Virgil's, — wasting no words and never losing sight of his main end. His sentences are condensed without being harsh or obscure. Dionysius declares that he surpasses Thucydides, and even Demosthenes, in the respect that he scarcely ever leaves the reader in doubt as to his exact meaning. Force, the next of the leading qualities named above, is not so obviously characteristic of single passages, though, as Cicero remarks, "In Lysia sæpe sunt etiam *lacerti*, sic ut fieri nihil possit valentius"; you do not feel a succession of blows, but a sustained energy, imparting vigor and rapidity to the entire discourse.

It is in narration that Lysias appears to the greatest advantage. His power is shown not so much in cogent logic, as in clear graphic statement. Apparently forgetting the occasion for argument, he proceeds to present the facts as he views them, making the listener an eye-witness or a participant, and awakening him insensibly to an interest in the persons and the transaction. With a constructive faculty singularly felicitous and rapid in its working, he brings to view the circumstances of the case, together with the various

machinery of cause, motive, and incident, until the fabric he has reproduced stands like a present reality before the mind of the hearer. When the statement of the case is complete, argument seems unnecessary. As examples of this effective narration, two passages may be cited: one in Oration XII. (§§ 4–24), placed first in the present volume, and the other in the Oration on the *Murder of Eratosthenes* (§§ 5–28), in which Euphiletus, an Athenian citizen, defends himself for having slain the deceased, taken in adultery with his wife, — a picture of manners not surpassed for vividness in Greek literature.

His success as a writer of speeches for clients was due largely to a rare power of personation, the so-called *ethopoeia*. With the art of the dramatic poet or the novelist he divests himself of his own personality, and composes a speech in a style and tone befitting the client by whom it is to be delivered. Says Selden, in his Table-Talk, "He that is to make a speech for the Lord Mayor, must take the measure of his Lordship's mouth." Lysias was not only the first among advocates to recognize this principle, but he carried it into practice with admirable success. The speaker, whether a pauper asking for a continuance of his pension from the public treasury, or a wealthy land-owner repelling the charge of sacrilegious trespass on temple properties, pleads his cause with the skill of a practised advocate, but in forms of thought and speech natural to himself. Each oration was thus, in a new sense, a work of literary art, having an individuality of form corresponding to its inward idea, yet complying with the requirements of that exquisite taste for structural proportion that belongs to the best period of Greek art. The chief defect observable in respect to rhetorical form is in arrangement of argumentative topics; in some of the orations a stricter logical order would seem better adapted to strengthen the effect of the whole. Even here, however, there may have been a deliberate choice of a careless and apparently unstudied arrangement.

On another point I cannot do better than quote the following paragraph from Professor Jebb's admirable chapter on the Style of Lysias: —

"It remains to say a few words on the peculiar and crowning excellence of Lysias in the province of expression, — his famous but inexplicable 'charm.' It is noticeable that while the Roman critics merely praise his elegance and polish, regarding it as a simple result of his art, the finer

sense of his Greek critic apprehends a certain nameless grace or charm, which cannot be directly traced to art, which cannot be analyzed or accounted for; it is something peculiar to him, of which all that can be said is that it is there. What, asks Dionysius, is the freshness of a beautiful face? What is fine harmony in the movements and windings of music? What is rhythm in the measurement of times? As these things baffle definition, so does the charm of Lysias. It cannot be taken to pieces by reasoning; it must be seized by a cultivated instinct. It is the final criterion of his genuine work. 'When I am puzzled about one of the speeches ascribed to him, and when it is hard for me to find the truth by other marks, I have recourse to this excellence, as to the last piece on the board. Then, if the Graces of Speech seem to me to make the writing fair, I count it to be of the soul of Lysias; and I care not to look further into it. But if the stamp of the language has no winningness, no loveliness, I am chagrined, and I suspect that after all the speech is not by Lysias; and I do no more violence to my instinct, even though in all else the speech seems to me clever and well finished; believing that to write well, in special styles other than this, is given to many men; but that to write winningly, gracefully, with loveliness, is the gift of Lysias.'"

It remains briefly to answer the question hinted at in the beginning of this section, What are the fundamental principles of the Lysian oratory, considered, namely, as prose composition?

Without assuming to have made an exhaustive analysis, I consider that there are three or four that are entitled to special consideration.

1. Truthfulness. The general historical accuracy of Lysias I shall have occasion to mention afterwards. The point to be noted here is that truthfulness is a determining element in his style. The clearest possible exhibition of fact as the groundwork of all persuasion, — this idea is a ruling one in his work. He begins no argument without having first attained a clear, coherent conception of the case, so thoroughly elaborated in all its parts and relations that he is able to transfer it to the minds of others with a distinctness extraordinarily impressive. The success of his method is of course largely due to an imagination of unusual power; with that, however, there was the still rarer faculty or quality, whether we consider it native or acquired, of intellectual honesty. This is habitually regulative of his imagination. He is intent on the mastery of the facts, and furthermore does not rest satisfied short of

the utmost possible clearness and precision in the expression of his conceptions.

In general, his work bears the impress of an open, truthful nature; he is a man who sees facts and believes in their reality and their power, who is averse to exaggeration, and who will not strain after effect. A later rhetorician quotes him as saying that "it is not by the style that one's thought is made great or small; the thought is great that contains much, and small that contains little." He says plain things in a plain way. For common things he uses common words. Thus it was not alone purity of diction that charmed his critics, but the peculiar harmony of thought and expression. Hence his freedom from mannerism, and his perpetual freshness: hence an art so admirable that it impresses every reader, but eludes analysis, and defies imitation.

2. His style recognizes the insufficiency of the decorative principle in literary art. This topic is closely connected with the preceding, and is indeed derivable from it, yet deserves separate mention. The Sicilian school aimed at beautiful expression; the Asiatic school strove to be ornately dignified and grand. Both clung to the form irrespective of the thought, and sought to make oratory impressive by its externals. Atticism, the school which, as has been observed, has Lysias as its most conspicuous representative, constantly demanded that discourse should express thought; it was not so much to adorn, enrich, ennoble thought, as to express it. Lysias perceived that embellishment could not be made the leading motive. The thought, — and by this we are to understand not merely the facts and their relations, but the emotion, the purpose and conviction of the orator, all that in his soul which he would transfer to the mind of the hearer, — this must give form and mould to the discourse.

3. It aims at the control of the will primarily through the intellect. Reliance on intellectual conviction as most certain in the end to influence the will is everywhere characteristic of the method of Lysias. We cannot therefore wholly accept the statement of Professor Jebb, that "the broadest characteristic of modern oratory as compared with the ancient, is the predominance of a sustained appeal to the understanding." It is true that modern oratory, far more than the ancient, goes back to fundamental principles, linking and riveting its conclusions to them by long chains of logic, while the latter relies on personal motives and prejudices, uses a great variety

of precedents and examples, and employs obvious arguments drawn from the circumstances of the case. But it is eminently characteristic of Lysias that he adheres to the principle of effecting persuasion through the intellect rather than the feelings, and that, not alone by working upon the imagination, but by means of reasoning. A minute analysis of any of his principal forensic discourses will show how all the available resources of argument are drawn upon in support of his position. He depends little on impassioned appeal, or on the impulse communicated from speaker to hearer in the transport of the moment. There is manifest a deliberate, self-contained confidence that, if he can make his hearers understand the facts as he does, his purpose is accomplished. Thus the oratory of Lysias, while not in any large sense an appeal to principles, is eminently an appeal to the understanding, whether we use this word as referring to the logical faculty merely, or to the intellectual nature as distinguished from the emotional. He finds his way to the feelings by a cool, clear statement of facts and reasons, rather than by any exhibition of emotional fervor, or by force of the personal magnetism of the orator.

4. Economy of the recipient's attention. There is no need to enlarge upon this point here. That this fundamental principle of effective composition, so clearly unfolded in Herbert Spencer's well-known essay, is generally regarded in the writings of Lysias, appears from what has been said above in the paragraphs treating of his diction and composition. Indeed, he was forced into compliance with this principle, so far as the economy of time is concerned, by a method not ordinarily applied in modern forensic practice. The laws of the Athenians in some cases, and their custom in others, restricted the pleader to a limited time, and thus necessitated selection and compression of material. He is generally felicitous in the arrangement of words in a sentence, so that the thought is easily taken up as he advances. It should be said, also, that it is under this head we find his most marked defects. A more frequent use of figures would enliven his style, at once quickening the imagination and aiding attention. A structure oftener alternating between the loose and periodic forms would have afforded an agreeable contrast. Demosthenes in this respect improved upon his predecessor, sometimes, however, sacrificing perspicuity in detail in his determination to hold the unflagging attention of the audience to his main theme.

III. HIS GENIUS AND CHARACTER.

To obtain even in faintest outline a conception of Lysias as a man, is far from being an easy task. We are hindered not only by the remoteness of his age, but by the fact that his life was mainly spent in private, and was devoted to scholarly and professional pursuits. Only a few works from his pen remain to us, and but the slightest contemporaneous notices. We have caught a glimpse of him in considering his style, — it being true of him as of every writer possessed of force and originality of mind, that "the style *is* the man." There are, however, some additional points of view from which we may contemplate his career with a livelier and more intelligent interest.

To his contemporaries he was known as Lysias the sophist, — the rhetor, — the λογογράφος, or advocate. The reader of Grecian history and literature will have become more or less familiar with the import of these several designations. The latter technically and more specifically described his profession. The λογογράφος (in the forensic signification of the word) was an advocate who composed speeches for clients that were to plead their own cause in court. There were frequent cases then — afterwards they became still more frequent — where advocates served their clients or friends by personally appearing in court to speak in their behalf, and to aid in the conduct of the case. But it was ordinarily expected in Athens that a citizen should plead his own cause; and if a professional advocate came in person to his assistance, the fact of its being a paid service was usually studiously concealed. Lysias confined himself to writing pleas for his clients to deliver. At the beginning of the fourth century before the Christian era he was by far the most distinguished legal adviser and advocate of this class in Athens. His broad and generous culture had long given him rank among the foremost of the sophists, not devoted to speculative research as were Protagoras and Plato, but to studies of the rhetorical sort. How prominent a place he occupied may easily be perceived from the *Phædrus* of Plato, as well as from the manner in which the great philosopher elsewhere singles him out for hostile criticism.

Of his personal appearance we have no historical record. The language of Aristides the sophist (about A. D. 175), "I saw" (in a

dream) "Lysias the orator as a comely young man" (*νεανίσκον οὐκ ἄχαριν*), may have been founded on tradition, or on the representation of him in then existing statues. In private it is probable that his morals were not above those of the average Athenian of his time. His religious attitude can only be negatively inferred; there is little to indicate what were his positive opinions concerning the prevalent religious system, or his temper and convictions regarding the great truths of natural religion, which underlay the popular mythology. In this respect his orations stand in marked contrast with those of Lycurgus, whose reverent tone, to say nothing of the subject-matter of his arguments, reveals a mind deeply imbued with the religious beliefs and traditions of his country.

The most striking trait in the character of Lysias, morally considered, has been alluded to in the previous discussion. I mean his habitual truthfulness. The student who inquires into the historical bearings of his orations will be impressed with their general accuracy, and the evident tone of fairness pervading them. With scarcely an exception, so far as I have observed, his historical statements vindicate themselves, when confronted with others that apparently or really contradict them. In the note on § 17 of the Oration *Against Agoratus*, I have remarked on one of these instances; compare also the note on § 72 of the same oration. His merit in this regard is not absolute; but it must be remembered that if at times we find exaggeration, sophistical reasoning, and partial representation of the facts, we are not to expect in an advocate, and in that age, the impartiality of a historian or a judge.

A noticeable feature is his modesty. That characteristic of his art which led to a withdrawal from view of his own personality, is to be found in the man as well as in the artist. His patriotism and public spirit had been abundantly shown in the contest for the liberation of Athens from the misrule of the tyrants. It would not have been unsuitable, therefore, when he came to plead before one of her tribunals against the murderer of his brother, to allude to his known services in the cause of his adopted country. But about the only allusion to his own part in the work done by the men of Phyle is found in the single word *ἤλθομεν*, *we came*.

His remarkable vigor and industry are shown by the number of his orations, and by the length and success of his professional career, although it was begun at so late a period in life. His tact

in dealing with men, founded on a penetrating insight into motives and character, has already been assumed in the discussion of the ethopoetic element in his style. That he had humor, we can readily make out. The plea for the pensioned Invalid, Oration XXIV., is especially in the humorous vein. Occasionally he is sarcastic; inveighing against the profligate licentiousness of the younger Alcibiades, he remarks that the young man had evidently despaired of attaining the greatness of his ancestors, except by being vicious in youth as they had been before him.

In a fragment preserved by Athenæus he has this to say of the Socratic Æschines, an incorrigible shirk: "Moreover, gentlemen of the jury, I am not the only person he treats thus, — it is the same with every one else who has anything to do with him. Have not the neighboring store-keepers, to whom he refuses to pay what he has obtained on credit, shut up their stores and gone to law with him? Are not his neighbors so annoyed that they are abandoning their houses, and renting others farther off? . . . . And so many crowd about his door at daybreak to collect their dues, that the passers-by think it to be his funeral. Also the merchants in the Piræus have come to the conclusion that it is less hazardous to take a cargo into the Adriatic than to lend money to him."

The reader is probably familiar with his reply to the client who came back dissatisfied with the speech that had been written for him. "When I read it for the first time," said he, "it seemed an admirable discourse; but after the second and third rehearsal it appeared tame and feeble." "You must remember," replied Lysias, "that the judges are to hear it but once."

He is sparing of aphorisms. "Laws will be no better than the law-makers," he says in XXX. 28. "Time is the most convincing test of the truth," XIX. 61. In Oration XX. (of doubtful genuineness, however) it is finely said of the defendant: "When he might have concealed his property, and thus have avoided rendering assistance, he preferred to have you know his circumstances, *in order that, if in any event he should wish to do wrong, he might not be able.*" The reader will recall a similar thought in Rousseau's *Confessions.*

More is known to us about him through Plato than through any other contemporaneous writer. But to no contemporary is Plato more unjust than to Lysias. The theory of rhetoric that he attributes

to him, however justly it may or may not be assigned to Corax or to Gorgias, was not that of Lysias. Some time before the *Phædrus* could have been written, he had begun to compose speeches on principles diametrically opposite to those condemned by Plato. The latter explains his own conception of a true rhetoric, as the art of implanting one's convictions in the soul of another; the votary of this art must therefore from its very nature possess himself of truth, and he must likewise know the souls of men. On this latter point he says:—

"Oratory is the art of enchanting the soul, and therefore he who would be an orator has to learn the differences of human souls,—they are so many and of such a nature, and from them come the differences between man and man; he will then proceed to divide speeches into their different classes. Such and such persons, he will say, are affected by this or that kind of speech in this or that way, and he will tell you why; he must have a theoretical notion of them first, and then he must see them in action, and be able to follow them with all his senses about him, or he will never get beyond the precepts of his masters. But when he is able to say what persons are persuaded by what arguments, and recognize the individual about whom he used to theorize as actually present to him, and say to himself, 'This is he, and this is the sort of man who ought to have that argument applied to him in order to convince him of this'; when he has attained the knowledge of all this, and knows also when he should speak and when he should abstain from speaking, and when he should make use of pithy sayings, pathetic appeals, aggravated effects, and all the other figures of speech,—when, I say, he knows the times and seasons of all these things, then, and not till then, he is perfect and a consummate master of his art."*

No one had realized this ideal so successfully, we may say so marvellously, as Lysias. In the forensic branch he was wellnigh "the consummate master of his art." His success was not by a mere knack, nor was it the result alone of practice. It is evident that he had rightly discerned and estimated the conditions of success in his profession, and had theorized upon them. He knew not only "what" was to be said, but, as Plato required, the "to whom" and the "when" and the "how much." We can discern in him the true Socratic of his age in the domain of rhetoric. How far he may

* Phædrus, 271; Jowett's Translation.

have been stimulated or helped by Socrates in his discovery of the true theory of forensic and practical eloquence it is impossible to determine, but it is certain that the success of his method rests on the same essential principles as the Socratic theory of education.

The defects of his mind are plainly to be seen in his works. We miss the suggestive variety of a more productive imagination, the warmth of a more emotional, sympathetic nature, and in certain passages the sublimity that would have been imparted by a loftier moral enthusiasm. He had an understanding of extraordinary vigor, clear perceptions, large common-sense, keen insight into men, but his nature was not of the largest mould. On the bema his oratory could scarcely have swayed the most powerful natures. He lacked the deep, intense convictions which kept the thunderbolts of Demosthenes at a white heat, and which seem in his greatest moments to have inspired him with transcendent energy. Yet the eloquence of Lysias, if not of the very highest order, was almost perfect in its kind. Addressed to audiences accustomed to be wrought upon by all manner of appeals, it is clear, dispassionate, mainly directed to the intellect. It chooses its means with unerring adaptation, but does not display them. It is the product of an art whose single aim is *πεῖσαι λόγῳ*, to effect persuasion by discourse. In this species of eloquence, which is careless of applause, acts indirectly upon the emotions, and is only intent upon carrying its point, — hence studying its audience, and the conditioning circumstances of the occasion, no less than its theme, — in eloquence of this kind, if we are to judge from the verdict of antiquity together with the confirmatory criticism of modern times, Lysias has never been excelled. He seems at the very outset of his professional career to have conceived with singular clearness the nature of his task, and he labored with long-continued and successful industry towards the realization of his ideal in its accomplishment. His best qualities passed over into his work. He did much toward bringing a noble art to the greatest perfection it ever attained. Though not to be ranked in mental or moral stature with his older and greater contemporary, Sophocles, we may nevertheless justly apply to him as a composer of oratorical prose the words of Professor Plumptre concerning the great dramatist: his characteristic and surpassing excellence is to be found in "the self-control and consummate art with which all his powers are devoted to working out a perfection deliberately foreseen and aimed."

IV. HIS WRITINGS.

There were current in ancient times 425 orations bearing the name of Lysias, but not more than 250 were accounted genuine, — according to Dionysius only 233. Out of this whole number there are 170 of which the titles have been preserved, or of which some fragments remain. Four of these belong to the class of "Epideictic" orations (λόγοι ἐπιδεικτικοί), addresses delivered on special public and festive occasions; two of these are extant, one the *Olympiac* mentioned in the account of his life, the other the *Funeral Oration* given in this volume. In the class of Deliberative or Political orations (λόγοι συμβουλευτικοί) there is but one, — a fragment forming No. XXXIV. in the existing collections. It was written for delivery in the Ecclesia immediately after the restoration of the democracy, and is probably the earliest production that we have from his pen.

Of the Forensic orations (λόγοι δικανικοί) there are 30 extant (22 entire), but not all accounted genuine. The whole number of Forensic orations in the list of titles and fragments is 159. They relate to a great variety of cases, civil and criminal; impeachments for treason and official misconduct; actions for violation of contracts, and for damage received to property and character; indictments for murder, sacrilege, and for the crime, likewise capital, of unlawful speculation in breadstuffs; among the pleaders, heirs-at-law, wards and guardians, injured husbands, deserters, archons elect and admirals, — scarcely a phase of Athenian public or private life that does not come into view. A sufficient portion of the original collection has been preserved to show what must have been the historical value of the whole. The courts of Athens more than its political and festal assemblies, perhaps even more than its stage, bring to our view the actual every-day life of its citizens, as well as many transactions of political moment that do not appear on the page of the historian.

Thus with all their merits in point of style and language, the pleas of the great Athenian advocate have a still stronger claim upon the attention of the modern reader. They are rich with information concerning the inner history of their age. It may be questioned whether any contemporary historical documents of greater value have come down to us out of Greek antiquity. They relate to a generation about which we are greatly concerned to know, — more, perhaps, than about

any other during the whole sway of the Hellenic civilization, were it only for the reason that then Socrates lived, and philosophy began. Loss of empire did not dim the lustre of the Attic mind. On the contrary, it was in this generation that the Periclean Athens began to bear its ripest and best fruit. The Athens that saw the beginning of the fourth century before the Christian era is an "intensely luminous point" on the dim background of antiquity. It has a microcosmic history, and its points of contact with the civilization of a free people in the nineteenth century of the Christian era are vastly more numerous than those of any other pagan age. Into this Athens, its streets and markets, its dwellings, its sanctuaries and temples, into its Piræus harbor and along its wharves, the orations of Lysias lead the reader. No Greek can be put into the hands of the elementary student which throws such a strong side light upon the history with which in his subsequent studies he will need to be most familiar. While studying the language of these orations, their narratives and their arguments, he is brought into the midst of the restless enterprise and the strifes of "that fierce democratie" of Athens, and unconsciously he begins to reconstruct its history. An ecclesiastical historian has spoken of the importance of every student's setting foot on the original ground of historic investigation. "However well told by modern compilers, there is almost sure to be something in the original records which we should have overlooked." These orations are not history, but they contain its materials, and how important for its elucidation they have proved, any one may estimate by observing the frequent reference to them in the works of Grote, and in the volume by Boeckh on the Public Economy of the Athenians. Nor is the lover of Greek literature to forget, as he turns these pages, that without Lysias, such was his acknowledged influence on Attic prose and oratory, we should not have had Demosthenes. Along with Thucydides he forms the best introduction to the study of the greatest of orators. Scarcely less a service is it that he leads us into the very court, before the very judges, as it were, in whose presence the greatest of all the pagan world gave utterance to that sublime vindication which Plato has reproduced in the *Apology of Socrates*.

ΛΥΣΙΑΣ.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

ORATION AGAINST ERATOSTHENES.

THE occasion and subject of this oration, and its significance as beginning a new era in Attic prose, have already been adverted to in the introductory sketch of Lysias and his writings. It is, moreover, the only extant oration known to have been spoken by the orator himself. His brother Polemarchus had been arrested and put to death the previous year by order of the Thirty; the oration is a masterly plea for justice against Eratosthenes as his murderer, the accused having been a member of that body, and also having taken an active part in the arrest.

The nature of the crime charged, and the official relations of the defendant, lead the speaker beyond the mere accusation of a single criminal; in the latter and larger part of his speech he sets forth the true character of the oligarchic revolution, arraigning its leaders with statesmanlike dignity and eloquence for their murderous and treasonable conspiracy against the Athenian people. Thus, although classed as a judicial oration, it is in many respects, as Blass remarks, the discourse of a statesman, and worthy to be named with the celebrated oration of Demosthenes *On the Crown*.

The administration of the Thirty Tyrants, as they came to be called, lasted about eight months, from June or July, B. C. 404, into the following February. They were to draft

a new code in harmony with the aims of the oligarchic party, and for the time being the government of the city was placed in their hands. Their appointment took place a little less than a year after the loss of the Athenian fleet at Ægospotami, August, 405. It had been a year of unparalleled suffering in the city. The blockade brought starvation to its doors, and the dilatory negotiations of the treacherous Theramenes had but deferred hope and prolonged misery. Still, with their wonted hopefulness and courage the people clung to the existing constitution, struggling to maintain their own freedom against foes within the city, while defending their national independence against foes without. But a change of government became inevitable after the surrender of Athens to Lysander, towards the end of March, 404. The exiled aristocrats returned in the wake of the victorious Spartan army; the leaders of the popular party were put out of the way in the manner described in Oration XIII.; then followed the appointment of thirty* of the oligarchic leaders, charged with the legislative and executive duties above mentioned. Their leading spirit was Critias, — resolute, energetic, and with an ambition unchecked by fear or scruple. The Moderates were represented by Theramenes and nine others who had been nominated by him.

The deeds that made this administration a veritable reign of terror, and soon rendered the name of the Thirty Tyrants odious throughout the Grecian world, are sufficiently familiar to the readers of history. Not less than 1500 persons were put to death. Large amounts of private property were confiscated, and even the treasuries and revenues of the temples were not spared. The higher schools were closed, the public teachers silenced, save Socrates, who could not be.† The

* Their names are given by Xenophon, *Hellenica*, II. 3, 2.

† See Grote's *History of Greece*, Vol. VIII. p. 257 *seq.*

regular courts, including the Areopagus, were suspended, and denunciations from the most infamous informers were received and acted upon without even the form of a trial. Finally, as if to complete their own and their country's degradation, the usurpers introduced a Spartan garrison into the Acropolis, to be maintained at the cost of the city.

Lysias and Polemarchus, being metics, belonged to a class peculiarly exposed to the rapacity of the Tyrants. It was a class for the most part engaged in commerce, democratic in its sympathies, and containing many men of wealth. The Tyrants were in pressing need of money. They governed an impoverished city, and that with the costly arm of a foreign garrison. Lysias and his brother were placed on the list of the ten who were first proscribed. In language simple but graphic the orator describes the whole proceeding, — the visit of the officers, their brutal violence and greed of plunder, the details of his own escape, and the arrest of his brother by Eratosthenes, followed by a summary execution without trial and without even being charged with a crime.

Of Eratosthenes little is known except through this accusation of Lysias. He is mentioned by no other writer of the time except Xenophon. During the administration of the Four Hundred (B. C. 411), he had been one of the secret emissaries to the coast of Asia Minor to disseminate oligarchic sentiments among the Athenian troops. Frustrated in his attempts, he seems to have returned to Athens, and to have remained till after the battle of Ægospotami. He then becomes a member of the "Ephors," a sort of central executive committee of five appointed by the clubs and secret political societies, — the so-called *ἑταιρίαι* and *συνωμοσίαι*, — which were intriguing in favor of Sparta and an aristocratic polity. He is next heard of as a member of the Thirty.

The career and character of Theramenes come under searching review in the course of the oration. He had stood forward

to advocate a moderate policy, and to oppose the useless violence of Critias, — a step which cost him his life. His followers were now demanding his enrolment among the martyrs for liberty, and claiming for themselves the benefit of whatsoever popularity might accrue to his memory. Lysias effectually disposes of these pretensions, and exposes him as a cautious, but dishonest and thoroughly selfish politician, who deserved but too well, though it was by unexpected hands, the reward of his faithlessness to the people and his treason to the constitution.

The trial is supposed to have been held between Sept. 21, 403, — the day of the return into the city of the patriots under Thrasybulus, — and the close of that year. Jurisdiction in murder cases properly devolved on the Areopagus; but that tribunal, it may be, had not yet been reorganized. The present case appears to have been tried before a dicastery presided over by the King Archon (ἄρχων βασιλεύς), and probably holding its sessions in the Delphinion. In the opinion of Grote* it was on the occasion of a trial of accountability (εὔθυναι), which he supposes Eratosthenes and his colleague Phidon to have returned to stand, that this indictment was preferred. We are inclined, however, to believe with Scheibe and Frohberger that the case was simply a trial for murder (γραφὴ φόνου).

The following brief analysis will aid the student in understanding the oration as a whole:

I. Exordium, §§ 1 – 3.

II. Argument on the specific charge contained in the indictment.
  (1) Statement of facts, §§ 4 – 24.
  (2) Examination of the defendant, §§ 25, 26.
  (3) Answer to the defence that he had acted on compulsion and was therefore not responsible, §§ 27 – 36.

---

* *History of Greece*, Vol. VIII. p. 295. The question is discussed by Blass, *Geschichte der Att. Beredsamkeit*, Ch. XIII.

III. Argument *extra causam*, arraigning the defendant as *particeps criminis* with the Thirty.
  (1) Examination of his record, — whether he had rendered such services to the state as to offset the crimes of himself and his colleagues, §§ 37–61.
  (2) Concerning Theramenes, §§ 62–80.
  (3) Contrast between the present trial and those under the Thirty, and denunciation of the advocates and witnesses for the defence, §§ 81–91.

IV. Appeal to the judges, §§ 92–98.

V. Peroration, §§ 99, 100.

XII.

ΚΑΤΑ ΕΡΑΤΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ

ΤΟΥ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΤΡΙΑΚΟΝΤΑ, ΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΣ ΕΙΠΕ ΛΥΣΙΑΣ.

Οὐκ ἄρξασθαί μοι δοκεῖ ἄπορον εἶναι, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, τῆς κατηγορίας, ἀλλὰ παύσασθαι λέγοντι· τοιαῦτα αὐτοῖς τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τοσαῦτα τὸ πλῆθος εἴργασται, ὥστε μήτ' ἂν ψευδόμενον δεινότερα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων κατηγορῆσαι, μήτε τἀληθῆ βουλόμενον εἰπεῖν ἅπαντα δύνασθαι, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη ἢ τὸν κατήγορον ἀπειπεῖν ἢ τὸν χρό-
2 νον ἐπιλιπεῖν. τοὐναντίον δέ μοι δοκοῦμεν πείσεσθαι ἢ ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνῳ. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ ἔδει τὴν ἔχθραν τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας ἐπιδεῖξαι, ἥτις εἴη πρὸς τοὺς φεύγοντας· νυνὶ δὲ παρὰ τῶν φευγόντων χρὴ πυνθάνεσθαι ἥτις ἦν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἔχθρα, ἀνθ' ὅτου τοιαῦτα ἐτόλμησαν εἰς αὐτὴν ἐξαμαρτάνειν. οὐ μέντοι ὡς οὐκ ἔχων οἰκείας ἔχθρας καὶ συμφορὰς τοὺς λόγους ποιοῦμαι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἅπασι πολλῆς ἀφθονίας οὔσης ὑπὲρ
3 τῶν ἰδίων ἢ ὑπὲρ τῶν δημοσίων ὀργίζεσθαι. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, οὔτ' ἐμαυτοῦ πώποτε

οὔτε ἀλλότρια πράγματα πράξας νῦν ἠνάγκασμαι ὑπὸ τῶν γεγενημένων τούτου κατηγορεῖν, ὥστε πολλάκις εἰς πολλὴν ἀθυμίαν κατέστην, μὴ διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν ἀναξίως καὶ ἀδυνάτως ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ ἐμαυτοῦ τὴν κατηγορίαν ποιήσωμαι· ὅμως δὲ πειράσομαι ὑμᾶς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι δι' ἐλαχίστων διδάξαι.

Οὑμὸς πατὴρ Κέφαλος ἐπείσθη μὲν ὑπὸ Περι- 4
κλέους εἰς ταύτην τὴν γῆν ἀφικέσθαι, ἔτη δὲ τριάκοντα ᾤκησε, καὶ οὐδενὶ πώποτε οὔτε ἡμεῖς οὔτε ἐκεῖνος δίκην οὔτε ἐδικασάμεθα οὔτε ἐφύγομεν, ἀλλ' οὕτως ᾠκοῦμεν δημοκρατούμενοι ὥστε μήτε εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους ἐξαμαρτάνειν μήτε ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀδικεῖσθαι. ἐπειδὴ δ' οἱ τριάκοντα πονηροὶ μὲν 5
καὶ συκοφάνται ὄντες εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέστησαν, φάσκοντες δὲ χρῆναι τῶν ἀδίκων καθαρὰν ποιῆσαι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς πολίτας ἐπ' ἀρετὴν καὶ δικαιοσύνην τραπέσθαι, τοιαῦτα λέγοντες οὐ τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν ἐτόλμων, ὡς ἐγὼ περὶ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ πρῶτον εἰπὼν καὶ περὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀναμνῆσαι πειράσομαι. Θέογνις γὰρ καὶ Πείσων ἔλεγον ἐν 6
τοῖς τριάκοντα περὶ τῶν μετοίκων, ὡς εἰέν τινες τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἀχθόμενοι· καλλίστην οὖν εἶναι πρόφασιν τιμωρεῖσθαι μὲν δοκεῖν, τῷ δ' ἔργῳ χρηματίζεσθαι· πάντως δὲ τὴν μὲν πόλιν πένεσθαι, τὴν δ' ἀρχὴν δεῖσθαι χρημάτων. καὶ τοὺς ἀκούοντας 7
οὐ χαλεπῶς ἔπειθον· ἀποκτιννύναι μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπους περὶ οὐδενὸς ἡγοῦντο, λαμβάνειν δὲ

χρήματα περὶ πολλοῦ ἐποιοῦντο. ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς δέκα συλλαβεῖν, τούτων δὲ δύο πένητας, ἵνα αὐτοῖς ᾖ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπολογία, ὡς οὐ χρημάτων ἕνεκα ταῦτα πέπρακται, ἀλλὰ συμφέροντα τῇ πολιτείᾳ γεγένηται, ὥσπερ τι τῶν ἄλλων εὐλόγως
8 πεποιηκότες. διαλαβόντες δὲ τὰς οἰκίας ἐβάδιζον· καὶ ἐμὲ μὲν ξένους ἑστιῶντα κατέλαβον, οὓς ἐξελάσαντες Πείσωνί με παραδιδόασιν· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι εἰς τὸ ἐργαστήριον ἐλθόντες τὰ ἀνδράποδα ἀπεγράφοντο. ἐγὼ δὲ Πείσωνα μὲν ἠρώτων εἰ βούλοιτό με σῶσαι χρήματα λαβών· ὁ δ' ἔφασκεν, εἰ πολ-
9 λὰ εἴη. εἶπον οὖν ὅτι τάλαντον ἀργυρίου ἕτοιμος εἴην δοῦναι· ὁ δ' ὡμολόγησε ταῦτα ποιήσειν. ἠπιστάμην μὲν οὖν ὅτι οὔτε θεοὺς οὔτ' ἀνθρώπους νομίζει, ὅμως δ' ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐδόκει μοι ἀναγ-
10 καιότατον εἶναι πίστιν παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὤμοσεν ἐξώλειαν ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς παισὶν ἐπαρώμενος, λαβὼν τὸ τάλαντόν με σώσειν, εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον τὴν κιβωτὸν ἀνοίγνυμι· Πείσων δ' αἰσθόμενος εἰσέρχεται, καὶ ἰδὼν τὰ ἐνόντα καλεῖ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν δύο, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ κιβωτῷ λαβεῖν
11 ἐκέλευσεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐχ ὅσον ὡμολόγησα εἶχεν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἀλλὰ τρία τάλαντα ἀργυρίου καὶ τετρακοσίους κυζικηνοὺς καὶ ἑκατὸν δαρεικοὺς καὶ φιάλας ἀργυρίου τέσσαρας, ἐδεόμην αὐτοῦ ἐφόδιά μοι δοῦναι, ὁ δ' ἀγαπήσειν με ἔφασκεν, εἰ τὸ
12 σῶμα σώσω. ἐξιοῦσι δ' ἐμοὶ καὶ Πείσωνι ἐπιτυγχάνει Μηλόβιός τε καὶ Μνησιθείδης ἐκ τοῦ

ἐργαστηρίου ἀπιόντες, καὶ καταλαμβάνουσι πρὸς αὐταῖς ταῖς θύραις, καὶ ἐρωτῶσιν ὅπῃ βαδίζοιμεν· ὁ δ' ἔφασκεν εἰς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ ἐμοῦ, ἵνα καὶ τὰ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ οἰκίᾳ σκέψηται. ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὖν ἐκέλευον βαδίζειν, ἐμὲ δὲ μεθ' αὑτῶν ἀκολουθεῖν εἰς Δαμνίππου. Πείσων δὲ προσελθὼν σιγᾷν μοι 13
παρεκελεύετο καὶ θαρρεῖν, ὡς ἤξων ἐκεῖσε. καταλαμβάνομεν δὲ αὐτόθι Θέογνιν ἑτέρους φυλάττοντα· ᾧ παραδόντες ἐμὲ πάλιν ᾤχοντο. ἐν τοιούτῳ δ' ὄντι μοι κινδυνεύειν ἐδόκει, ὡς τοῦ γε ἀποθανεῖν ὑπάρχοντος ἤδη. καλέσας δὲ Δάμνιππον λέγω 14
πρὸς αὐτὸν τάδε, "ἐπιτήδειος μέν μοι τυγχάνεις ὤν, ἦκω δ' εἰς τὴν σὴν οἰκίαν, ἀδικῶ δ' οὐδέν, χρημάτων δ' ἕνεκα ἀπόλλυμαι. σὺ οὖν ταῦτα πάσχοντί μοι πρόθυμον παράσχου τὴν σεαυτοῦ δύναμιν εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν σωτηρίαν." ὁ δ' ὑπέσχετο ταῦτα ποιήσειν. ἐδόκει δ' αὐτῷ βέλτιον εἶναι πρὸς Θέογνιν μνησθῆναι· ἡγεῖτο γὰρ ἅπαν ποιήσειν αὐτόν, εἴ τις ἀργύριον διδοίη. ἐκείνου δὲ 15
διαλεγομένου Θεόγνιδι (ἔμπειρος γὰρ ὢν ἐτύγχανον τῆς οἰκίας, καὶ ᾔδειν ὅτι ἀμφίθυρος εἴη) ἐδόκει μοι ταύτῃ πειρᾶσθαι σωθῆναι, ἐνθυμουμένῳ ὅτι, ἐὰν μὲν λάθω, σωθήσομαι, ἐὰν δὲ ληφθῶ, ἡγούμην μέν, εἰ Θέογνις εἴη πεπεισμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ Δαμνίππου χρήματα λαβεῖν, οὐδὲν ἧττον ἀφεθήσεσθαι, εἰ δὲ μή, ὁμοίως ἀποθανεῖσθαι. ταῦτα διανοηθεὶς 16
ἔφευγον, ἐκείνων ἐπὶ τῇ αὐλείῳ θύρᾳ τὴν φυλακὴν ποιουμένων· τριῶν δὲ θυρῶν οὐσῶν, ἃς ἔδει με

διελθεῖν, ἅπασαι ἀνεῳγμέναι ἔτυχον. ἀφικόμενος δὲ εἰς Ἀρχένεω τοῦ ναυκλήρου ἐκεῖνον πέμπω εἰς ἄστυ, πευσόμενον περὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ· ἦκων δὲ ἔλεγεν ὅτι Ἐρατοσθένης αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ λαβὼν
17 εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἀπαγάγοι. καὶ ἐγὼ τοιαῦτα πεπυσμένος τῆς ἐπιούσης νυκτὸς διέπλευσα Μέγαράδε. Πολεμάρχῳ δὲ παρήγγειλαν οἱ τριάκοντα τὸ ὑπ' ἐκείνων εἰθισμένον παράγγελμα, πίνειν κώνειον, πρὶν τὴν αἰτίαν εἰπεῖν δι' ἣντινα ἔμελλεν ἀποθανεῖσθαι· οὕτω πολλοῦ ἐδέησε κριθῆναι καὶ
18 ἀπολογήσασθαι. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀπεφέρετο ἐκ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου τεθνεώς, τριῶν ἡμῖν οἰκιῶν οὐσῶν οὐδεμιᾶς εἴασαν ἐξενεχθῆναι, ἀλλὰ κλίσιον μισθωσάμενοι προὔθεντο αὐτόν. καὶ πολλῶν ὄντων ἱματίων αἰτοῦσιν οὐδὲν ἔδοσαν εἰς τὴν ταφήν, ἀλλὰ τῶν φίλων ὁ μὲν ἱμάτιον ὁ δὲ προσκεφάλαιον ὁ δὲ ὅ τι ἕκαστος ἔτυχεν ἔδωκεν εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου ταφήν.
19 καὶ ἔχοντες μὲν ἑπτακοσίας ἀσπίδας τῶν ἡμετέρων, ἔχοντες δὲ ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον τοσοῦτον, χαλκὸν δὲ καὶ κόσμον καὶ ἔπιπλα καὶ ἱμάτια γυναικεῖα ὅσα οὐδεπώποτε ᾠοντο κτήσασθαι, καὶ ἀνδράποδα εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν, ὧν τὰ μὲν βέλτιστα ἔλαβον, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἀπέδοσαν, εἰς τοσαύτην ἀπληστίαν καὶ αἰσχροκέρδειαν ἀφίκοντο καὶ τοῦ τρόπου τοῦ αὐτῶν ἀπόδειξιν ἐποιήσαντο· τῆς γὰρ Πολεμάρχου γυναικὸς χρυσοῦς ἑλικτῆρας, οὓς ἔχουσα ἐτύγχανεν, ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν Μηλόβιος, ἐκ τῶν ὤτων

ἐξείλετο. καὶ οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸ ἐλάχιστον μέρος τῆς 20
οὐσίας ἐλέου παρ' αὐτῶν ἐτυγχάνομεν. ἀλλ' οὕτως
εἰς ἡμᾶς διὰ τὰ χρήματα ἐξημάρτανον, ὥσπερ οὐκ
ἂν ἕτεροι μεγάλων ἀδικημάτων ὀργὴν ἔχοντες, οὐ
τούτων ἀξίους γε ὄντας τῇ πόλει, ἀλλὰ πάσας τὰς
χορηγίας χορηγήσαντας, πολλὰς δ' εἰσφορὰς εἰσε-
νεγκόντας, κοσμίους δ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς παρέχοντας
καὶ πᾶν τὸ προσταττόμενον ποιοῦντας, ἐχθρὸν δ'
οὐδένα κεκτημένους, πολλοὺς δ' Ἀθηναίων ἐκ τῶν
πολεμίων λυσαμένους· τοιούτων ἠξίωσαν, οὐχ
ὁμοίως μετοικοῦντας ὥσπερ αὐτοὶ ἐπολιτεύοντο.
οὗτοι γὰρ πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν πολιτῶν εἰς τοὺς πολε- 21
μίους ἐξήλασαν, πολλοὺς δ' ἀδίκως ἀποκτείναντες
ἀτάφους ἐποίησαν, πολλοὺς δ' ἐπιτίμους ὄντας
ἀτίμους τῆς πόλεως κατέστησαν, πολλῶν δὲ θυγα-
τέρας μελλούσας ἐκδίδοσθαι ἐκώλυσαν. Καὶ εἰς 22
τοσοῦτόν εἰσι τόλμης ἀφιγμένοι ὥσθ' ἥκουσιν
ἀπολογησόμενοι, καὶ λέγουσιν ὡς οὐδὲν κακὸν
οὐδ' αἰσχρὸν εἰργασμένοι εἰσίν. ἐγὼ δ' ἐβουλό-
μην ἂν αὐτοὺς ἀληθῆ λέγειν· μετῆν γὰρ ἂν καὶ
ἐμοὶ τούτου τἀγαθοῦ οὐκ ἐλάχιστον μέρος. νῦν 23
δὲ οὔτε πρὸς τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς τοιαῦτα ὑπάρχει
οὔτε πρὸς ἐμέ· τὸν ἀδελφὸν γάρ μου, ὥσπερ καὶ
πρότερον εἶπον, Ἐρατοσθένης ἀπέκτεινεν, οὔτε
αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ ἀδικούμενος οὔτε εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὁρῶν
ἐξαμαρτάνοντα, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ παρανομίᾳ προθύ-
μως ἐξυπηρετῶν. ἀναβιβασάμενος δ' αὐτὸν βού- 24
λομαι ἐρέσθαι, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί. τοιαύτην γὰρ

γνώμην ἔχω· ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ τούτου ὠφελείᾳ καὶ πρὸς ἕτερον περὶ τούτου διαλέγεσθαι ἀσεβὲς εἶναι νομίζω, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ τούτου βλάβῃ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν τοῦτον ὅσιον καὶ εὐσεβές. ἀνάβηθι οὖν μοι καὶ ἀπόκριναι, ὅ τι ἄν σε ἐρωτῶ.

25 Ἀπήγαγες Πολέμαρχον ἢ οὔ; Τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων προσταχθέντα δεδιὼς ἐποίουν. Ἦσθα δ' ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, ὅτε οἱ λόγοι ἐγίνοντο περὶ ἡμῶν; Ἦν. Πότερον συνηγόρευες τοῖς κελεύουσιν ἀποκτεῖναι ἢ ἀντέλεγες; Ἀντέλεγον. Ἵνα μὴ ἀποθάνωμεν; Ἵνα μὴ ἀποθάνητε. Ἡγούμενος ἡμᾶς ἄδικα πάσχειν ἢ δίκαια; Ἄδικα. +

26 Εἶτ', ὦ σχετλιώτατε πάντων, ἀντέλεγες μὲν ἵνα σώσειας, συνελάμβανες δὲ ἵνα ἀποκτείναις; καὶ ὅτε μὲν τὸ πλῆθος ἦν ὑμῶν κύριον τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς ἡμετέρας, ἀντιλέγειν φῂς τοῖς βουλομένοις ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσαι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπὶ σοὶ μόνῳ ἐγένετο καὶ σῶσαι Πολέμαρχον καὶ μή, εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἀπήγαγες; εἶθ' ὅτι μέν, ὡς φῄς, ἀντειπὼν οὐδὲν ὠφέλησας, ἀξιοῖς χρηστὸς νομίζεσθαι, ὅτι δὲ συλλαβὼν ἀπέκτεινας, οὐκ οἴει ἐμοὶ καὶ τουτοισὶ δοῦναι δίκην;

27 Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτο εἰκὸς αὐτῷ πιστεύειν, εἴπερ ἀληθῆ λέγει φάσκων ἀντειπεῖν, ὡς αὐτῷ προσετάχθη. οὐ γὰρ δή που ἐν τοῖς μετοίκοις πίστιν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐλάμβανον. ἐπεί τοι τῷ ἧττον εἰκὸς ἦν προσταχθῆναι ἢ ὅστις ἀντειπών γε ἐτύγχανε καὶ [ἐναντίαν] γνώμην ἀποδεδειγμένος; τίνα γὰρ

εἰκὸς ἦν ἧττον ταῦτα ὑπηρετῆσαι ἢ τὸν ἀντει-
πόντα οἷς ἐκεῖνοι ἐβούλοντο πραχθῆναι; Ἔτι δὲ 28
τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις Ἀθηναίοις ἱκανή μοι δοκεῖ πρό-
φασις εἶναι τῶν γεγενημένων εἰς τοὺς τριάκοντα
ἀναφέρειν τὴν αἰτίαν· (αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς τριάκοντα,
ἂν εἰς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀναφέρωσι, πῶς ὑμᾶς εἰκὸς
ἀποδέχεσθαι;) εἰ μὲν γάρ τις ἦν ἐν τῇ πόλει 29
ἀρχὴ ἰσχυροτέρα αὐτῆς, ὑφ' ἧς αὐτῷ προσετάτ-
τετο παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον ἀνθρώπους ἀπολλύναι, ἴσως
ἂν εἰκότως αὐτῷ συγγνώμην εἴχετε· νῦν δὲ παρὰ
τοῦ ποτε καὶ λήψεσθε δίκην, εἴπερ ἐξέσται τοῖς
τριάκοντα λέγειν ὅτι τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα προσ-
ταχθέντα ἐποίουν; Καὶ μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ 30
ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ σώζειν τε αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ τούτοις
ἐψηφισμένα παρόν, συλλαβὼν ἀπήγαγεν. ὑμεῖς
δὲ πάντες ὀργίζεσθε, ὅσοι εἰς τὰς οἰκίας ἦλθον τὰς
ὑμετέρας ζήτησιν ποιούμενοι ἢ ὑμῶν ἢ τῶν ὑμετέ-
ρων τινός. καίτοι εἰ χρὴ τοῖς διὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν σω- 31
τηρίαν ἑτέρους ἀπολέσασι συγγνώμην ἔχειν, ἐκεί-
νοις ἂν δικαιότερον ἔχοιτε· κίνδυνος γὰρ ἦν
πεμφθεῖσι μὴ ἐλθεῖν καὶ καταλαβοῦσιν ἐξάρνοις
γενέσθαι. τῷ δὲ Ἐρατοσθένει ἐξῆν εἰπεῖν ὅτι οὐκ
ἀπήντησεν, ἔπειτα ὅτι οὐκ εἶδεν· ταῦτα γὰρ οὔτ'
ἔλεγχον οὔτε βάσανον εἶχεν, ὥστε μηδ' ὑπὸ τῶν
ἐχθρῶν βουλομένων οἷόν τ' εἶναι ἐξελεγχθῆναι.
χρῆν δέ σε, ὦ Ἐρατόσθενες, εἴπερ ἦσθα χρηστός, 32
πολὺ μᾶλλον τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἀδίκως ἀποθανεῖσθαι
μηνυτὴν γενέσθαι ἢ τοὺς ἀδίκως ἀπολουμένους

συλλαμβάνειν. νῦν δέ σου τὰ ἔργα φανερὰ γεγένηται οὐχ ὡς ἀνιωμένου ἀλλ' ὡς ἡδομένου τοῖς
33 γιγνομένοις, ὥστε τούσδε ἐκ τῶν ἔργων χρὴ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκ τῶν λόγων τὴν ψῆφον φέρειν, ἃ ἴσασι γεγενημένα τῶν τότε λεγομένων τεκμήρια λαμβάνοντας, ἐπειδὴ μάρτυρας περὶ αὐτῶν οὐχ οἷόν τε παρασχέσθαι. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἡμῖν παρεῖναι οὐκ ἐξῆν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι, ὥστ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐστὶ πάντα τὰ κακὰ εἰργασμένοις τὴν πόλιν πάντα
34 τἀγαθὰ περὶ αὐτῶν λέγειν. τοῦτο μέντοι οὐ φεύγω, ἀλλ' ὁμολογῶ σοι, εἰ βούλει, ἀντειπεῖν. θαυμάζω δὲ τί ἄν ποτε ἐποίησας συνειπών, ὁπότε ἀντειπεῖν φάσκων ἀπέκτεινας Πολέμαρχον. φέρε δή, τί ἂν εἰ καὶ ἀδελφοὶ ὄντες ἐτύχετε αὐτοῦ ἢ καὶ υἱεῖς; ἀπεψηφίσασθε; δεῖ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, Ἐρατοσθένην δυοῖν θάτερον ἀποδεῖξαι, ἢ ὡς οὐκ ἀπήγαγεν αὐτόν, ἢ ὡς δικαίως τοῦτ' ἔπραξεν. οὗτος δὲ ὡμολόγηκεν ἀδίκως συλλαβεῖν, ὥστε ῥᾳδίαν ὑμῖν τὴν διαψήφισιν περὶ αὐτοῦ πεποίηκε.
35 Καὶ μὲν δὴ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἀστῶν καὶ τῶν ξένων ἥκουσιν εἰσόμενοι τίνα γνώμην περὶ τούτων ἕξετε. ὧν οἱ μὲν ὑμέτεροι ὄντες πολῖται μαθόντες ἀπίασιν ὅτι ἢ δίκην δώσουσιν ὧν ἂν ἐξαμάρτωσιν, ἢ πράξαντες μὲν ὧν ἐφίενται τύραννοι τῆς πόλεως ἔσονται, δυστυχήσαντες δὲ τὸ ἴσον ὑμῖν ἕξουσιν· ὅσοι δὲ ξένοι ἐπιδημοῦσιν, εἴσονται πότερον ἀδίκως τοὺς τριάκοντα ἐκκηρύττουσιν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἢ δικαίως. εἰ γὰρ δὴ αὐτοὶ οἱ κακῶς πεπονθότες λαβόντες

ἀφήσουσιν, ἢ που σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἡγήσονται περιέργους ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν τιμωρουμένους. οὐκ οὖν δεινὸν 36
εἰ τοὺς μὲν στρατηγούς, οἳ ἐνίκων ναυμαχοῦντες, ὅτε διὰ χειμῶνα οὐχ οἷοί τ' ἔφασαν εἶναι τοὺς ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης ἀνελέσθαι, θανάτῳ ἐζημιώσατε, ἡγούμενοι χρῆναι τῇ τῶν τεθνεώτων ἀρετῇ παρ' ἐκείνων δίκην λαβεῖν, τούτους δέ, οἳ ἰδιῶται μὲν ὄντες καθ' ὅσον ἐδύναντο ἐποίησαν ἡττηθῆναι ναυμαχοῦντας, ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέστησαν, ὁμολογοῦσιν ἑκόντες πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν ἀκρίτους ἀποκτιννύναι, οὐκ ἄρα χρὴ αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ὑφ' ὑμῶν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ζημίαις κολάζεσθαι;

Ἐγὼ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἠξίουν ἱκανὰ 37
εἶναι τὰ κατηγορημένα· μέχρι γὰρ τούτου νομίζω χρῆναι κατηγορεῖν ἕως ἂν θανάτου δόξῃ τῷ φεύγοντι ἄξια εἰργάσθαι· ταύτην γὰρ ἐσχάτην δίκην δυνάμεθα παρ' αὐτῶν λαβεῖν. ὥστ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι δεῖ πολλὰ κατηγορεῖν τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν, οἳ οὐδ' ὑπὲρ ἑνὸς ἑκάστου τῶν πεπραγμένων δὶς ἀποθανόντες δίκην δοῦναι δύναιντ' ἄν. οὐ γὰρ δὴ οὐδὲ 38
τοῦτο αὐτῷ προσήκει ποιῆσαι, ὅπερ ἐν τῇδε τῇ πόλει εἰθισμένον ἐστί, πρὸς μὲν τὰ κατηγορημένα μηδὲν ἀπολογεῖσθαι, περὶ δὲ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἕτερα λέγοντες ἐνίοτε ἐξαπατῶσιν, ὑμῖν ἀποδεικνύντες ὡς στρατιῶται ἀγαθοί εἰσιν, ἢ ὡς πολλὰς τῶν πολεμίων ναῦς ἔλαβον τριηραρχήσαντες, ἢ πόλεις πολεμίας οὔσας φίλας ἐποίησαν· ἐπεὶ κελεύετε αὐτὸν 39

ἀποδεῖξαι ὅπου τοσούτους τῶν πολεμίων ἀπέκτειναν ὅσους τῶν πολιτῶν, ἢ ναῦς ὅπου τοσαύτας ἔλαβον ὅσας αὐτοὶ παρέδοσαν, ἢ πόλιν ἥν τινα τοιαύτην προσεκτήσαντο οἵαν τὴν ὑμετέραν κατε-
40 δουλώσαντο. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅπλα τῶν πολεμίων ἐσκύλευσαν τοσαῦτα ὅσα περ ὑμῶν ἀφείλοντο; ἀλλὰ τείχη τοιαῦτα εἷλον οἷα τῆς ἑαυτῶν πατρίδος κατέσκαψαν; οἵτινες καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν φρούρια καθεῖλον, καὶ ὑμῖν ἐδήλωσαν ὅτι οὐδὲ τὸν Πειραιᾶ Λακεδαιμονίων προσταττόντων περιεῖλον, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἑαυτοῖς τὴν ἀρχὴν οὕτω βεβαιοτέραν ἐνόμιζον εἶναι.

41 Πολλάκις οὖν ἐθαύμασα τῆς τόλμης τῶν λεγόντων ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, πλὴν ὅταν ἐνθυμηθῶ ὅτι τῶν αὐτῶν ἐστιν αὐτούς τε πάντα τὰ κακὰ ἐργάζεσθαι
42 καὶ τοὺς τοιούτους ἐπαινεῖν. οὐ γὰρ νῦν πρῶτον τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πλήθει τὰ ἐναντία ἔπραξεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ὀλιγαρχίαν καθιστὰς ἔφευγεν ἐξ Ἑλλησπόντου τριήραρχος καταλιπὼν τὴν ναῦν, μετὰ Ἰατροκλέους καὶ ἑτέρων, ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα οὐδὲν δέομαι λέγειν. ἀφικόμενος δὲ δεῦρο τἀναντία τοῖς βουλομένοις δημοκρατίαν εἶναι ἔπραττε. καὶ τούτων μάρτυρας ὑμῖν παρέξομαι.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

43 Τὸν μὲν τοίνυν μεταξὺ βίον αὐτοῦ παρήσω· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ ναυμαχία καὶ ἡ συμφορὰ τῇ πόλει

ἐγένετο, δημοκρατίας ἔτι οὔσης, ὅθεν τῆς στάσεως ἦρξαν, πέντε ἄνδρες ἔφοροι κατέστησαν ὑπὸ τῶν καλουμένων ἑταίρων, συναγωγεῖς μὲν τῶν πολιτῶν, ἄρχοντες δὲ τῶν συνωμοτῶν, ἐναντία δὲ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πλήθει πράττοντες· ὧν Ἐρατοσθένης καὶ Κριτίας ἦσαν. οὗτοι δὲ φυλάρχους τε ἐπὶ τὰς 44
φυλακὰς κατέστησαν, καὶ ὅ τι δέοι χειροτονεῖσθαι καὶ οὔστινας χρείη ἄρχειν παρήγγελλον, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο πράττειν βούλοιντο, κύριοι ἦσαν· οὕτως οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων πολιτῶν ὄντων ἐπεβουλεύεσθε ὅπως μήτ' ἀγαθὸν μηδὲν ψηφίσαισθε πολλῶν τε ἐνδεεῖς ἔσεσθε. τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἠπίσταντο, ὅτι ἄλλως μὲν οὐχ οἷοί 45
τε ἔσονται περιγενέσθαι, κακῶς δὲ πραττόντων δυνήσονται· καὶ ὑμᾶς ἡγοῦντο τῶν παρόντων κακῶν ἐπιθυμοῦντας ἀπαλλαγῆναι περὶ τῶν μελλόντων οὐκ ἐνθυμήσεσθαι. ὡς τοίνυν τῶν ἐφόρων 46
ἐγένετο, μάρτυρας ὑμῖν παρέξομαι, οὐ τοὺς τότε συμπράττοντας (οὐ γὰρ ἂν δυναίμην), ἀλλὰ τοὺς αὐτοῦ Ἐρατοσθένους ἀκούσαντας. καίτοι εἰ ἐσω- 47
φρόνουν κατεμαρτύρουν ἂν αὐτῶν, καὶ τοὺς διδασκάλους τῶν σφετέρων ἁμαρτημάτων σφόδρ' ἂν ἐκόλαζον, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους, εἰ ἐσωφρόνουν, οὐκ ἂν ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς τῶν πολιτῶν κακοῖς πιστοὺς ἐνόμιζον, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς τῆς πόλεως ἀγαθοῖς ῥᾳδίως παρέβαινον. πρὸς μὲν οὖν τούτους τοσαῦτα λέγω, τοὺς δὲ μάρτυράς μοι κάλει. Καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀνάβητε.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

48 Τῶν μὲν μαρτύρων ἀκηκόατε. τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν καταστὰς ἀγαθοῦ μὲν οὐδενὸς μετέσχεν, ἄλλων δὲ πολλῶν. καίτοι εἴπερ ἦν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, ἐχρῆν ἂν πρῶτον μὲν μὴ παρανόμως ἄρχειν, ἔπειτα τῇ βουλῇ μηνυτὴν γίνεσθαι περὶ τῶν εἰσαγγελιῶν ἁπασῶν, ὅτι ψευδεῖς εἶεν, καὶ Βάτραχος καὶ Αἰσχυλίδης οὐ τἀληθῆ μηνύουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα πλασθέντα εἰσαγγέλλουσι,
49 συγκείμενα ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν πολιτῶν βλάβῃ. καὶ μὲν δή, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ὅσοι κακόνοι ἦσαν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πλήθει, οὐδὲν ἔλαττον εἶχον σιωπῶντες· ἕτεροι γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ λέγοντες καὶ πράττοντες ὧν οὐχ οἷόν τ' ἦν μείζω κακὰ γενέσθαι τῇ πόλει. ὁπόσοι δ' εὖνοί φασιν εἶναι, πῶς οὐκ ἐνταῦθα ἔδειξαν, αὐτοί τε τὰ βέλτιστα λέγοντες καὶ τοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνοντας ἀποτρέποντες;
50 Ἴσως δ' ἂν ἔχοι εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἐδεδοίκει, καὶ ὑμῶν τοῦτο ἐνίοις ἱκανὸν ἔσται. ὅπως τοίνυν μὴ φανήσεται ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τοῖς τριάκοντα ἐναντιούμενος· εἰ δὲ μή, ἐνταυθοῖ δῆλος ἔσται ὅτι ἐκεῖνά τε αὐτῷ ἤρεσκε, καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐδύνατο ὥστε ἐναντιούμενος μηδὲν κακὸν παθεῖν ὑπ' αὐτῶν. χρῆν δ' αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμετέρας σωτηρίας ταύτην τὴν προθυμίαν ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ὑπὲρ Θηραμένους, ὃς εἰς ὑμᾶς
51 πολλὰ ἐξήμαρτεν. ἀλλ' οὗτος τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐχθρὰν ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι, τοὺς δ' ὑμετέρους ἐχθροὺς φίλους, ὡς ἀμφότερα ταῦτα ἐγὼ πολλοῖς τεκμηρίοις παραστήσω, καὶ τὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφορὰς

οὐχ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν γιγνομένας, ὁπότεροι ταῦτα πράξουσι καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἄρξουσι. εἰ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδικουμένων ἐστασίαζον, ποῦ 52
κάλλιον ἂν ἦν ἀνδρὶ ἄρχοντι, ἢ Θρασυβούλου Φυλὴν κατειληφότος, τότ' ἐπιδείξασθαι τὴν αὑτοῦ εὔνοιαν; ὁ δ' ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπαγγείλασθαί τι ἢ πρᾶ- ל
ξαι ἀγαθὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἐπὶ Φυλῇ, ἐλθὼν μετὰ τῶν συναρχόντων εἰς Σαλαμῖνα καὶ Ἐλευσῖνάδε τριακοσίους τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπήγαγεν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον, καὶ μιᾷ ψήφῳ αὐτῶν ἁπάντων θάνατον κατεψηφίσατο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἤλθομεν καὶ 53
αἱ ταραχαὶ γεγενημέναι ἦσαν καὶ περὶ τῶν διαλλαγῶν οἱ λόγοι ἐγίνοντο, πολλὰς ἑκάτεροι ἐλπίδας εἴχομεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔσεσθαι ὡς ἀμφότεροι ἐδείξαμεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ Πειραιῶς, κρείττους ὄντες
εἴασαν αὐτοὺς ἀπελθεῖν· οἱ δὲ εἰς τὸ ἄστυ ἐλθόν- 54
τες τοὺς μὲν τριάκοντα ἐξέβαλον πλὴν Φείδωνος καὶ Ἐρατοσθένους, ἄρχοντας δὲ τοὺς ἐκείνοις ἐχθίστους εἵλοντο, ἡγούμενοι δικαίως ἂν ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν τούς τε τριάκοντα μισεῖσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ φιλεῖσθαι. τούτων τοίνυν Φείδων ὁ τῶν 55
τριάκοντα γενόμενος καὶ Ἱπποκλῆς καὶ Ἐπιχάρης ὁ Λαμπτρεὺς καὶ ἕτεροι οἱ δοκοῦντες εἶναι ἐναντιώτατοι Χαρικλεῖ καὶ Κριτίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἐκείνων ἑταιρείᾳ, ἐπειδὴ αὐτοὶ εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέστησαν, πολὺ μείζω στάσιν καὶ πόλεμον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ τοῖς ἐξ ἄστεος ἐποίησαν· οἷς καὶ φανερῶς ἐπεδείξαντο 56
ὅτι οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν Πειραιεῖ οὐδ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδίκως

ἀπολλυμένων ἐστασίαζον, οὐδ' οἱ τεθνεῶτες αὐτοὺς
ἐλύπουν, οὐδ' οἱ μέλλοντες ἀποθανεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' οἱ
57 μεῖζον δυνάμενοι καὶ θᾶσσον πλουτοῦντες. λα-
βόντες γὰρ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀμφοτέροις
ἐπολέμουν, τοῖς τε τριάκοντα πάντα κακὰ εἰργα-
σμένοις καὶ ὑμῖν πάντα κακὰ πεπονθόσι. καίτοι
τοῦτο πᾶσι δῆλον ἦν, ὅτι εἰ μὲν ἐκεῖνοι ἀδίκως
ἔφευγον, ὑμεῖς δικαίως, εἰ δ' ὑμεῖς ἀδίκως, οἱ τριά-
κοντα δικαίως· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἑτέρων ἔργων αἰτίαν
λαβόντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξέπεσον, ἀλλὰ τούτων.
58 ὥστε σφόδρα χρὴ ὀργίζεσθαι, ὅτι Φείδων αἱρεθεὶς
ὑμᾶς διαλλάξαι καὶ καταγαγεῖν, τῶν αὐτῶν ἔργων
Ἐρατοσθένει μετεῖχε καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ γνώμῃ τοὺς μὲν
κρείττους αὐτῶν δι' ὑμᾶς κακῶς ποιεῖν ἕτοιμος ἦν,
ὑμῖν δὲ ἀδίκως φεύγουσιν οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ἀποδοῦναι
τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' ἐλθὼν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἔπειθεν αὐ-
τοὺς στρατεύεσθαι, διαβάλλων ὅτι Βοιωτῶν ἡ πόλις
ἔσται, καὶ ἄλλα λέγων οἷς ᾤετο πείσειν μάλιστα.
59 οὐ δυνάμενος δὲ τούτων τυχεῖν, εἴτε καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν
ἐμποδὼν ὄντων εἴτε καὶ αὐτῶν οὐ βουλομένων,
ἑκατὸν τάλαντα ἐδανείσατο, ἵνα ἔχοι ἐπικούρους
μισθοῦσθαι. καὶ Λύσανδρον ἄρχοντα ᾐτήσατο,
εὐνούστατον μὲν ὄντα τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ, κακονούστα-
τον δὲ τῇ πόλει, μισοῦντα δὲ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐν
60 Πειραιεῖ. μισθωσάμενοι δὲ πάντας ἀνθρώπους
ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ πόλεις ἐπάγοντες, καὶ
τελευτῶντες Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τῶν συμμάχων
ὁπόσους ἐδύναντο πεῖσαι, οὐ διαλλάξαι ἀλλ' ἀπο-

λέσαι παρεσκευάζοντο τὴν πόλιν εἰ μὴ δι' ἄνδρας ἀγαθούς, οἷς ὑμεῖς δηλώσατε παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν δίκην λαβόντες, ὅτι καὶ ἐκείνοις χάριν ἀποδώσετε. ταῦτα δὲ ἐπίστασθε μὲν καὶ αὐτοί, καὶ οἶδ' ὅτι οὐ 61
δεῖ μάρτυρας παρασχέσθαι· ὅμως δέ· ἐγώ τε γὰρ δέομαι ἀναπαύσασθαι, ὑμῶν τ' ἐνίοις ἥδιον ὡς πλείστων τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους ἀκούειν.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

Φέρε δὴ καὶ περὶ Θηραμένους ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι 62
διὰ βραχυτάτων διδάξω. δέομαι δ' ὑμῶν ἀκοῦσαι ὑπέρ τ' ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς πόλεως. καὶ μηδενὶ τοῦτο παραστῇ, ὡς Ἐρατοσθένους κινδυνεύοντος Θηραμένους κατηγορῶ· πυνθάνομαι γὰρ ταῦτα ἀπολογήσεσθαι αὐτόν, ὅτι ἐκείνῳ φίλος ἦν καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔργων μετεῖχε. καίτοι σφόδρ' ἂν αὐτὸν 63
οἶμαι μετὰ Θεμιστοκλέους πολιτευόμενον προσποιεῖσθαι πράττειν ὅπως οἰκοδομηθήσεται τὰ τείχη, ὁπότε καὶ μετὰ Θηραμένους ὅπως καθαιρεθήσεται. οὐ γάρ μοι δοκοῦσιν ἴσου ἄξιοι γεγενῆσθαι· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀκόντων ᾠκοδόμησεν αὐτά, οὗτος δὲ τοὺς πολίτας ἐξαπατήσας καθεῖλε. περιέστηκεν οὖν τῇ πόλει τοὐναντίον ἢ ὡς εἰκὸς 64
ἦν. ἄξιον μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοὺς φίλους τοὺς Θηραμένους προσαπολωλέναι, πλὴν εἴ τις ἐτύγχανεν ἐκείνῳ τἀναντία πράττων· νῦν δὲ ὁρῶ τάς τε ἀπολογίας εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἀναφερομένας, τοὺς τ' ἐκείνῳ

συνόντας τιμᾶσθαι πειρωμένους, ὥσπερ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν αἰτίου ἀλλ᾽ οὐ μεγάλων κακῶν γεγενημέ-
65 νου. ὃς πρῶτον μὲν τῆς προτέρας ὀλιγαρχίας αἰτιώτατος ἐγένετο, πείσας ὑμᾶς τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων πολιτείαν ἑλέσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν πατὴρ αὐτοῦ τῶν προβούλων ὢν ταῦτ᾽ ἔπραττεν, αὐτὸς δὲ δοκῶν εὐνούστατος εἶναι τοῖς πράγμασι στρα-
66 τηγὸς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ᾑρέθη. καὶ ἕως μὲν ἐτιμᾶτο, πιστὸν ἑαυτὸν παρεῖχεν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ Πείσανδρον μὲν καὶ Κάλλαισχρον καὶ ἑτέρους ἑώρα προτέρους αὐτοῦ γινομένους, τὸ δὲ ὑμέτερον πλῆθος οὐκέτι βουλόμενον τούτων ἀκροᾶσθαι, τότ᾽ ἤδη διά τε τὸν πρὸς ἐκείνους φθόνον καὶ τὸ παρ᾽ ὑμῶν δέος
67 μετέσχε τῶν Ἀριστοκράτους ἔργων. βουλόμενος δὲ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πλήθει δοκεῖν πιστὸς εἶναι, Ἀντιφῶντα καὶ Ἀρχεπτόλεμον φιλτάτους ὄντας αὐτῷ κατηγορῶν ἀπέκτεινεν, εἰς τοσοῦτον δὲ κακίας ἦλθεν, ὥστε ἅμα μὲν διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἐκείνους πίστιν ὑμᾶς κατεδουλώσατο, διὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοὺς
68 φίλους ἀπώλεσε. τιμώμενος δὲ καὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἀξιούμενος, αὐτὸς ἐπαγγειλάμενος σώσειν τὴν πόλιν αὐτὸς ἀπώλεσε, φάσκων πρᾶγμα εὑρηκέναι μέγα καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξιον. ὑπέσχετο δὲ εἰρήνην ποιήσειν μήτε ὅμηρα δοὺς μήτε τὰ τείχη καθελὼν μήτε τὰς ναῦς παραδούς· ταῦτα δὲ εἰπεῖν μὲν οὐ-
69 δενὶ ἠθέλησεν, ἐκέλευσε δὲ αὐτῷ πιστεύειν. ὑμεῖς δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πραττούσης μὲν τῆς ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ βουλῆς σωτήρια, ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ

πολλῶν Θηραμένει, εἰδότες δὲ ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἄν-
θρωποι τῶν πολεμίων ἕνεκεν τἀπόρρητα ποιοῦνται,
ἐκεῖνος δ' ἐν τοῖς αὑτοῦ πολίταις οὐκ ἠθέλησεν
εἰπεῖν ταῦτα ἃ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἔμελλεν ἐρεῖν,
ὅμως ἐπετρέψατε αὐτῷ πατρίδα καὶ παῖδας καὶ
γυναῖκας καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτούς. ὁ δὲ ὧν μὲν ὑπέσχετο 70
οὐδὲν ἔπραξεν, οὕτως δὲ ἐνετεθύμητο ὡς χρὴ
μικρὰν καὶ ἀσθενῆ γενέσθαι τὴν πόλιν, ὥστε περὶ
ὧν οὐδεὶς πώποτε οὔτε τῶν πολεμίων ἐμνήσθη οὔτε
τῶν πολιτῶν ἤλπισε, ταῦθ' ὑμᾶς ἔπεισε πρᾶξαι,
οὐχ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀναγκαζόμενος, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς
ἐκείνοις ἐπαγγελλόμενος, τοῦ τε Πειραιῶς τὰ τείχη
περιελεῖν καὶ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν πολιτείαν καταλῦ-
σαι, εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι, εἰ μὴ πασῶν τῶν ἐλπίδων ἀπο-
στερηθήσεσθε, ταχεῖαν παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν τιμωρίαν
κομιεῖσθε. καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, 71
οὐ πρότερον εἴασε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν γενέσθαι, ἕως ὁ
λεγόμενος ὑπ' ἐκείνων καιρὸς ἐπιμελῶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
ἐτηρήθη, καὶ μετεπέμψατο μὲν τὰς μετὰ Λυσάν-
δρου ναῦς ἐκ Σάμου, ἐπεδήμησε δὲ τὸ τῶν πολε-
μίων στρατόπεδον. τότε δὲ τούτων ὑπαρχόντων, 72
καὶ παρόντων Λυσάνδρου καὶ Φιλοχάρους καὶ Μιλ-
τιάδου, περὶ τῆς πολιτείας τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίουν,
ἵνα μήτε ῥήτωρ αὐτοῖς μηδεὶς ἐναντιοῖτο μηδὲ
ἀπειλοῖ, ὑμεῖς τε μὴ τὰ τῇ πόλει συμφέροντα ἕλοι-
σθε, ἀλλὰ τἀκείνοις δοκοῦντα ψηφίσαισθε. ἀνα- 73
στὰς δὲ Θηραμένης ἐκέλευσεν ὑμᾶς τριάκοντα
ἀνδράσιν ἐπιτρέψαι τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ

χρῆσθαι ἦν Δρακοντίδης ἀπέφαινεν. ὑμεῖς δ' ὅμως καὶ οὕτω διακείμενοι ἐθορυβεῖτε ὡς οὐ ποιήσοντες ταῦτα· ἐγιγνώσκετε γὰρ ὅτι περὶ δουλείας καὶ ἐλευθερίας ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐξεκλησιάζετε.
74 Θηραμένης δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, (καὶ τούτων ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς μάρτυρας παρέξομαι) εἶπεν ὅτι οὐδὲν αὐτῷ μέλοι τοῦ ὑμετέρου θορύβου, ἐπειδὴ πολλοὺς μὲν Ἀθηναίων εἰδείη τοὺς τὰ ὅμοια πράττοντας αὐτῷ, δοκοῦντα δὲ Λυσάνδρῳ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις λέγοι. μετ' ἐκεῖνον δὲ Λύσανδρος ἀναστὰς ἄλλα τε πολλὰ εἶπε καὶ ὅτι παρασπόνδους ὑμᾶς ἔχοι, καὶ ὅτι οὐ περὶ πολιτείας ὑμῖν ἔσται ἀλλὰ περὶ σωτηρίας, εἰ μὴ ποιήσεθ' ἃ Θηραμένης κελεύει.
75 τῶν δ' ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὅσοι ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἦσαν, γνόντες τὴν παρασκευὴν καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην, οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ μένοντες ἡσυχίαν ἦγον, οἱ δὲ ᾤχοντο ἀπιόντες, τοῦτο γοῦν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς συνειδότες, ὅτι οὐδὲν κακὸν τῇ πόλει ἐψηφίσαντο· ὀλίγοι δέ τινες καὶ πονηροὶ καὶ κακῶς βουλευόμενοι τὰ προστα-
76 χθέντα ἐχειροτόνησαν. παρηγγέλλετο γὰρ αὐτοῖς δέκα μὲν οὓς Θηραμένης ἀπέδειξε χειροτονῆσαι, δέκα δὲ οὓς οἱ καθεστηκότες ἔφοροι κελεύοιεν, δέκα δ' ἐκ τῶν παρόντων· οὕτω γὰρ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀσθένειαν ἑώρων καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν δύναμιν ἠπίσταντο, ὥστε πρότερον ᾔδεσαν τὰ μέλλοντα ἐν τῇ
77 ἐκκλησίᾳ πραχθήσεσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ἐμοὶ δεῖ πιστεῦσαι, ἀλλὰ ἐκείνῳ· πάντα γὰρ τὰ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ εἰρημένα ἐν τῇ βουλῇ ἀπολογούμενος ἔλεγεν,

ὀνειδίζων μὲν τοῖς φεύγουσιν, ὅτι δι' αὐτὸν κατέλθοιεν, οὐδὲν φροντιζόντων Λακεδαιμονίων, ὀνειδίζων δὲ τοῖς τῆς πολιτείας μετέχουσιν ὅτι πάντων τῶν πεπραγμένων τοῖς εἰρημένοις τρόποις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ αὐτὸς αἴτιος γεγενημένος τοιούτων τυγχάνοι, πολλὰς πίστεις αὐτὸς ἔργῳ δεδωκὼς καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων ὅρκους εἰληφώς. καὶ τοσούτων καὶ ἑτέρων κακῶν 78
καὶ αἰσχρῶν καὶ πάλαι καὶ νεωστὶ καὶ μικρῶν καὶ μεγάλων αἰτίου γεγενημένου, τολμήσουσιν αὐτοὺς φίλους ὄντας ἀποφαίνειν, οὐχ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀποθανόντος Θηραμένους ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοῦ πονηρίας, καὶ δικαίως μὲν ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ δίκην δόντος (ἤδη γὰρ αὐτὴν κατέλυσε), δικαίως δ' ἂν ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ· δὶς γὰρ ὑμᾶς κατεδουλώσατο, τῶν μὲν παρόντων καταφρονῶν, τῶν δὲ ἀπόντων ἐπιθυμῶν, καὶ τῷ καλλίστῳ ὀνόματι χρώμενος δεινοτάτων ἔργων διδάσκαλος καταστάς.

Περὶ μὲν τοίνυν Θηραμένους ἱκανά μοί ἐστι τὰ 79
κατηγορημένα· ἥκει δ' ὑμῖν ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρός, ἐν ᾧ δεῖ συγγνώμην καὶ ἔλεον μὴ εἶναι ἐν ταῖς ὑμετέραις γνώμαις, ἀλλὰ παρὰ Ἐρατοσθένους καὶ τῶν τουτοὶ συναρχόντων δίκην λαβεῖν, μηδὲ μαχομένους [μὲν] κρείττους εἶναι τῶν πολεμίων, ψηφιζομένους δὲ ἥττους τῶν ἐχθρῶν. μηδ' ὧν φασι μέλλειν πράξειν 80
πλείω χάριν αὐτοῖς ἴστε, ἢ ὧν ἐποίησαν ὀργίζεσθε· μηδ' ἀποῦσι μὲν τοῖς τριάκοντα ἐπιβουλεύετε, παρόντας δ' ἀφῆτε· μηδὲ τῆς τύχης, ἣ τούτους παρέδωκε τῇ πόλει, κάκιον ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς βοηθήσητε.

81 Κατηγόρηται δὴ Ἐρατοσθένους καὶ τῶν τούτου φίλων, οἷς τὰς ἀπολογίας ἀνοίσει καὶ μεθ' ὧν αὐτῷ ταῦτα πέπρακται. ὁ μέντοι ἀγὼν οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου τῇ πόλει καὶ Ἐρατοσθένει· οὗτος μὲν γὰρ κατήγορος καὶ δικαστὴς αὐτὸς ἦν τῶν κρινομένων, ἡμεῖς δὲ νυνὶ εἰς κατηγορίαν καὶ ἀπολογίαν καθέ-
82 σταμεν. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τοὺς οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντας ἀκρίτους ἀπέκτειναν, ὑμεῖς δὲ τοὺς ἀπολέσαντας τὴν πόλιν κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἀξιοῦτε κρίνειν, παρ' ὧν οὐδ' ἂν παρανόμως βουλόμενοι δίκην λαμβάνειν ἀξίαν τῶν ἀδικημάτων ὧν τὴν πόλιν ἠδικήκασι λάβοιτε. τί γὰρ ἂν παθόντες δίκην τὴν ἀξίαν
83 εἴησαν τῶν ἔργων δεδωκότες; πότερον εἰ αὐτοὺς ἀποκτείνοιτε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῶν, ἱκανὴν ἂν τοῦ φόνου δίκην λάβοιμεν, ὧν οὗτοι πατέρας καὶ υἱεῖς καὶ ἀδελφοὺς ἀκρίτους ἀπέκτειναν; ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰ τὰ χρήματα τὰ φανερὰ δημεύσαιτε, καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι ἢ τῇ πόλει, ἧς οὗτοι πολλὰ εἰλήφασιν, ἢ τοῖς ἰδιώ-
84 ταις, ὧν οἰκίας ἐξεπόρθησαν; ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν πάντα ποιοῦντες δίκην παρ' αὐτῶν οὐκ ἂν δύναισθε λαβεῖν, πῶς οὐκ αἰσχρὸν ὑμῖν καὶ ἡντινοῦν ἀπολιπεῖν, ἥντινά τις βούλοιτο παρὰ τούτων λαμβάνειν; πᾶν δ' ἄν μοι δοκεῖ τολμῆσαι, ὅστις νυνὶ οὐχ ἑτέρων ὄντων τῶν δικαστῶν ἀλλ' αὐτῶν τῶν κακῶς πεπονθότων, ἥκει ἀπολογησόμενος πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοὺς μάρτυρας τῆς τούτου πονηρίας· τοσοῦτον ἢ
85 ὑμῶν καταπεφρόνηκεν ἢ ἑτέροις πεπίστευκεν. ὧν ἀμφοτέρων ἄξιον ἐπιμεληθῆναι, ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι

οὔτ' ἂν ἐκεῖνα ἐδύναντο ποιεῖν μὴ ἑτέρων συμπραττόντων οὔτ' ἂν νῦν ἐπεχείρησαν ἐλθεῖν μὴ ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν οἰόμενοι σωθήσεσθαι, οἳ οὐ τούτοις ἤκουσι βοηθήσοντες, ἀλλὰ ἡγούμενοι πολλὴν ἄδειαν σφίσιν ἔσεσθαι τῶν [τε] πεπραγμένων καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἂν βούλωνται, εἰ τοὺς μεγίστων κακῶν αἰτίους λαβόντες ἀφήσετε.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ξυνερούντων αὐτοῖς ἄξιον θαυμάζειν, πότερον ὡς καλοὶ κἀγαθοὶ αἰτήσονται, τὴν αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν πλείονος ἀξίαν ἀποφαίνοντες τῆς τούτων πονηρίας· ἐβουλόμην μέντ' ἂν αὐτοὺς οὕτω προθύμους εἶναι σώζειν τὴν πόλιν, ὥσπερ οὗτοι ἀπολλύναι· ἢ ὡς δεινοὶ λέγειν ἀπologήσονται καὶ τὰ τούτων ἔργα πολλοῦ ἄξια ἀποφανοῦσιν. ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν οὐδὲ τὰ δίκαια πώποτε ἐπεχείρησεν εἰπεῖν. 86

Ἀλλὰ τοὺς μάρτυρας ἄξιον ἰδεῖν, οἳ τούτοις μαρτυροῦντες αὐτῶν κατηγοροῦσι, σφόδρα ἐπιλήσμονας καὶ εὐήθεις νομίζοντες ὑμᾶς εἶναι, εἰ διὰ μὲν τοῦ ὑμετέρου πλήθους ἀδεῶς ἡγοῦνται τοὺς τριάκοντα σώσειν, διὰ δὲ Ἐρατοσθένην καὶ τοὺς συνάρχοντας αὐτοῦ δεινὸν ἦν καὶ τῶν τεθνεώτων ἐπ' ἐκφορὰν ἐλθεῖν. καίτοι οὗτοι μὲν σωθέντες πάλιν ἂν δύναιντο τὴν πόλιν ἀπολέσαι· ἐκεῖνοι δέ, οὓς οὗτοι ἀπώλεσαν, τελευτήσαντες τὸν βίον πέρας ἔχουσι τῆς παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τιμωρίας. οὐκ οὖν δεινὸν εἰ τῶν μὲν ἀδίκως τεθνεώτων οἱ φίλοι συναπώλλυντο, αὐτοῖς δὲ τοῖς τὴν πόλιν ἀπολέσασιν 87 88

δήπου ἐπ' ἐκφορὰν πολλοὶ ἥξουσιν, ὁπότε βοηθεῖν
89 τοσοῦτοι παρασκευάζονται; καὶ μὲν δὴ πολλῷ ῥᾷον ἡγοῦμαι εἶναι ὑπὲρ ὧν ὑμεῖς ἐπάσχετε ἀντειπεῖν, ἢ ὑπὲρ ὧν οὗτοι πεποιήκασιν ἀπολογήσασθαι. καίτοι λέγουσιν ὡς Ἐρατοσθένει ἐλάχιστα τῶν τριάκοντα κακὰ εἴργασται, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸν ἀξιοῦσι σωθῆναι· ὅτι δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων πλεῖστα εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐξημάρτηκεν, οὐκ οἴονται χρῆναι
90 αὐτὸν ἀπολέσθαι. ὑμεῖς δὲ δείξατε ἥν τινα γνώμην ἔχετε περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων. εἰ μὲν γὰρ τούτου καταψηφιεῖσθε, δῆλοι ἔσεσθε ὡς ὀργιζόμενοι τοῖς πεπραγμένοις· εἰ δὲ ἀποψηφιεῖσθε, ὀφθήσεσθε τῶν αὐτῶν ἔργων ἐπιθυμηταὶ τούτοις ὄντες, καὶ οὐχ ἕξετε λέγειν ὅτι τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα
91 προσταχθέντα ἐποιεῖτε· νυνὶ μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ὑμᾶς ἀναγκάζει παρὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν γνώμην ἀποψηφίζεσθαι. ὥστε συμβουλεύω μὴ τούτων ἀποψηφισαμένους ὑμῶν αὐτῶν καταψηφίσασθαι. μηδ' οἴεσθε κρύβδην εἶναι τὴν ψῆφον· φανερὰν γὰρ τῇ πόλει τὴν ὑμετέραν γνώμην ποιήσετε.

92 Βούλομαι δὲ ὀλίγα ἑκατέρους ἀναμνήσας καταβαίνειν, τούς τε ἐξ ἄστεος καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Πειραιῶς, ἵνα τὰς ὑμῖν διὰ τούτων γεγενημένας συμφορὰς παραδείγματα ἔχοντες τὴν ψῆφον φέρητε. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ὅσοι ἐξ ἄστεός ἐστε, σκέψασθε ὅτι ὑπὸ τούτων οὕτω σφόδρα ἤρχεσθε, ὥστε ἀδελφοῖς καὶ υἱέσι καὶ πολίταις ἠναγκάζεσθε πολεμεῖν τοιοῦτον πόλεμον, ἐν ᾧ ἡττηθέντες μὲν τοῖς νικήσασι

τὸ ἴσον ἔχετε, νικήσαντες δ' ἂν τούτοις ἐδουλεύετε. καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους οἴκους οὗτοι μὲν [ἂν] ἐκ τῶν πρα- 93
γμάτων μεγάλους ἐκτήσαντο, ὑμεῖς δὲ διὰ τὸν πρὸς ἀλλήλους πόλεμον ἐλάττους ἔχετε· συνωφελεῖσθαι μὲν γὰρ ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἠξίουν, συνδιαβάλλεσθαι δ' ἠνάγκαζον, εἰς τοσοῦτον ὑπεροψίας ἐλθόντες ὥστε οὐ τῶν ἀγαθῶν κοινούμενοι πιστοὺς ὑμᾶς ἐκτῶντο, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὀνειδῶν μεταδιδόντες εὔνους ᾤοντο εἶναι. ἀνθ' ὧν ὑμεῖς νῦν ἐν τῷ θαρραλέῳ ὄντες, καθ' ὅσον 94
δύνασθε, καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκ Πειραιῶς τιμωρήσασθε, ἐνθυμηθέντες μὲν ὅτι ὑπὸ τούτων πονηροτάτων ὄντων ἤρχεσθε, ἐνθυμηθέντες δὲ ὅτι μετ' ἀνδρῶν νῦν ἀρίστων πολιτεύεσθε καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις μάχεσθε καὶ περὶ τῆς πόλεως βουλεύεσθε, ἀναμνησθέντες δὲ τῶν ἐπικούρων, οὓς οὗτοι φύλακας τῆς σφετέρας ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας δουλείας εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν κατέστησαν. καὶ πρὸς 95
ὑμᾶς μὲν ἔτι πολλῶν ὄντων εἰπεῖν τοσαῦτα λέγω. ὅσοι δ' ἐκ Πειραιῶς ἐστε, πρῶτον μὲν τῶν ὅπλων ἀναμνήσθητε, ὅτι πολλὰς μάχας ἐν τῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ μαχεσάμενοι οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τούτων εἰρήνης οὔσης ἀφῃρέθητε τὰ ὅπλα, ἔπειθ' ὅτι ἐξεκηρύχθητε μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἣν ὑμῖν οἱ πατέρες παρέδοσαν, φεύγοντας δὲ ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἐζητοῦντο. ἀνθ' ὧν ὀργίσθητε μὲν ὥσπερ ὅτ' 96
ἐφεύγετε, ἀναμνήσθητε δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κακῶν ἃ πεπόνθατε ὑπ' αὐτῶν· οἳ τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τοὺς δ' ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν συναρπάζοντες βιαίως

ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ τέκνων καὶ γονέων καὶ γυναικῶν ἀφέλκοντες, φονέας αὐτῶν ἠνάγκασαν γενέσθαι καὶ οὐδὲ ταφῆς τῆς νομιζομένης εἴασαν τυχεῖν, ἡγούμενοι τὴν αὐτῶν ἀρχὴν βεβαιοτέραν
97 εἶναι τῆς παρὰ τῶν θεῶν τιμωρίας. ὅσοι δὲ τὸν θάνατον διέφυγον, πολλαχοῦ κινδυνεύσαντες καὶ εἰς πολλὰς πόλεις πλανηθέντες καὶ πανταχόθεν ἐκκηρυττόμενοι, ἐνδεεῖς ὄντες τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, οἱ μὲν ἐν πολεμίᾳ τῇ πατρίδι τοὺς παῖδας καταλιπόντες, οἱ δ' ἐν ξένῃ γῇ, πολλῶν ἐναντιουμένων ἦλθετε εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ. πολλῶν δὲ καὶ μεγάλων κινδύνων ὑπαρξάντων ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι τοὺς μὲν ἠλευθερώσατε, τοὺς δ' εἰς τὴν πατρίδα κατηγάγετε.
98 εἰ δὲ ἐδυστυχήσατε καὶ τούτων ἡμάρτετε, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἂν δείσαντες ἐφεύγετε μὴ πάθητε τοιαῦτα οἷα καὶ πρότερον, καὶ οὔτ' ἂν ἱερὰ οὔτε βωμοὶ ὑμᾶς ἀδικουμένους διὰ τοὺς τούτων τρόπους ὠφέλησαν· ἃ καὶ τοῖς ἀδικοῦσι σωτήρια γίνεται· οἱ δὲ παῖδες ὑμῶν, ὅσοι μὲν ἐνθάδε ἦσαν, ὑπὸ τούτων ἂν ὑβρίζοντο, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ ξένης μικρῶν ἂν ἕνεκα συμβολαίων ἐδούλευον ἐρημίᾳ τῶν ἐπικουρησόντων.
99 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι βούλομαι λέγειν, τὰ πραχθέντα ὑπὸ τούτων οὐ δυνάμενος εἰπεῖν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἑνὸς κατηγόρου οὐδὲ δυοῖν ἔργον ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ πολλῶν. ὅμως δὲ τῆς ἐμῆς προθυμίας [οὐδὲν] ἐλλέλειπται, ὑπέρ τε τῶν ἱερῶν, ἃ οὗτοι τὰ μὲν ἀπέδοντο τὰ δ' εἰσιόντες ἐμίαινον, ὑπέρ τε τῆς πόλεως, ἣν μικρὰν ἐποίουν, ὑπέρ τε τῶν νεωρίων,

ἃ καθεῖλον, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν τεθνεώτων, οἷς ὑμεῖς, ἐπειδὴ ζῶσιν ἐπαμῦναι οὐκ ἠδύνασθε, ἀποθανοῦσι βοηθήσατε. οἶμαι δ' αὐτοὺς ἡμῶν τε ἀκροᾶσθαι καὶ ὑμᾶς εἴσεσθαι τὴν ψῆφον φέροντας, ἡγουμένους, ὅσοι μὲν ἂν τούτων ἀποψηφίσησθε, αὐτῶν θάνατον καταψηφιεῖσθαι, ὅσοι δ' ἂν παρὰ τούτων δίκην λάβωσιν, ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τὰς τιμωρίας πεποιημένους. 100

Παύσομαι κατηγορῶν. ἀκηκόατε, ἑωράκατε, πεπόνθατε, ἔχετε. δικάζετε.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

ORATION AGAINST AGORATUS.

THIS oration, like the preceding, derives its chief value from its historical contents. It is an accusation of Agoratus for his share in the death of Dionysodorus, who with other leaders of the popular party had fallen a victim to the revolution that brought the Thirty into power. It relates some of the nefarious transactions that enabled the oligarchy to succeed in their plans, and to subvert for the second time the ancient republican constitution.

Theramenes, determined to break the spirit of the obstinate Demos, after waiting for three months of famine to do their work, and for Cleophon to be put to death, had at last returned from his second embassy with the terms of peace. Their acceptance was strenuously opposed by the democratic leaders. Among them were Strombichides, Eucrates, — brother to the Nicias who commanded the ill-fated Sicilian expedition, — Calliades, and Dionysodorus. Now in order that the oligarchy might carry their scheme into effect, these men too must be removed, as Cleophon had been; Agoratus, a man of ignoble birth and antecedents, was selected as a fit instrument for the purpose. He had years before managed to secure a reward from the state on the claim of having been accessory to the assassination of Phrynichus. Afterwards he had somehow procured the enrolment of his name as a

citizen; at the time of the events here related he was pretending to identify himself actively with the movements of the popular party. By order of the Senate, which was at the time of the deliberations on the peace with Sparta strongly oligarchic, he was arrested and induced to make a confession implicating the leaders above named, as well as many others, in a conspiracy against the state. They were arrested and thrown into prison. The peace was then made. Within three months the Thirty were placed in power. One of their first acts was to institute a trial of the imprisoned leaders and sentence them to death. The description of this mock-trial and of the parting scene in the prison forms a noteworthy passage of the oration.

Of Dionysodorus we have no other information than what is here given. He appears to have been one of the taxiarchs for that year. His brother Dionysius, and a brother-in law whose name does not appear, come forward as prosecutors, the latter delivering the principal accusing speech, one of the unquestioned compositions of Lysias.

The manner of the indictment deserves notice. Instead of the usual indictment for murder (*γραφὴ φόνου*), the prosecutors avail themselves of the so-called process of Apagogê (*ἀπαγωγή*). This process was preferred, it is supposed, in order to avoid the more numerous legal forms and the intervening delays of the other, especially since these would allow the escape of the accused before trial. The Apagogê was a more direct procedure, placing the accused under immediate arrest, and providing for a speedy trial under the conduct of the Eleven before a Heliastic court. The only requisite preliminary was that the accused should be brought before the Eleven, the charges being made out in a bill or indictment which also bore the name Apagogê. In its original form this indictment could only be preferred when the person charged with crime had been taken in the very act (*ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ, in flagranti*), but

practice had allowed its application to be extended to any well-known or notorious offences. In the present case, the argument to justify resorting to this process (§§ 83–87) is evidently the most difficult part of the speaker's task, and is skilfully thrown, as indeed it well deserves, into the background.

The date is uncertain, but probably not earlier than B. C. 400. Blass conjectures 398, or even later.

The following is a brief analysis:

I. Exordium, §§ 1–4.

II. Statement of facts, originally attested by witnesses and documents, with a *résumé* of the calamities for which Agoratus is in part responsible, §§ 5–48.

III. Refutation of the anticipated argument for the defence.
The accuser maintains:
(1) A denial of the charge is impossible in the face of the evidence, §§ 49, 50.
(2) Justification of the act impossible, § 51.
(3) The plea of compulsion of no avail, §§ 52–54.
(4) The chief guilt not to be thrown upon Menestratus, §§ 55–57.

IV. Considerations bearing on the character of the accused:
(1) His conduct compared with that of Aristophanes of Colleidæ, §§ 58–61.
(2) The valuable citizens lost to the state compared with their murderer Agoratus, a slave and the brother of three notorious criminals, §§ 62–69.
(3) Exposure of the fraud of his claim to have served the state in the assassination of Phrynichus, and thereby to have gained citizenship, §§ 70–76.
(4) Not, as claimed, one of "the men of Phyle," §§ 77–82.

V. The validity of the indictment defended, §§ 83–87.

VI. Denial of the defendant's claim to the benefit of the amnesty, §§ 88–91.

VII. Peroration, §§ 92–97.

XIII.

ΚΑΤΑ ΑΓΟΡΑΤΟΥ

[ΕΝΔΕΙΞΕΩΣ].

ΠΡΟΣΗΚΕΙ μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, πᾶσιν ὑμῖν τιμωρεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν οἳ ἀπέθανον εὖνοι ὄντες τῷ πλήθει τῷ ὑμετέρῳ, προσήκει δὲ κἀμοὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα· κηδεστὴς γάρ μοι ἦν Διονυσόδωρος καὶ ἀνεψιός. τυγχάνει οὖν ἐμοὶ ἡ αὐτὴ ἔχθρα πρὸς Ἀγόρατον τουτονὶ καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ὑπάρχουσα· ἔπραξε γὰρ οὗτος τοιαῦτα, δι' ἃ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ νυνὶ εἰκότως μισεῖται, ὑπό τε ὑμῶν, ἂν θεὸς θέλῃ, δικαίως τιμωρηθήσεται. Διονυσόδωρον γὰρ 2
τὸν κηδεστὴν τὸν ἐμὸν καὶ ἑτέρους πολλούς, ὧν δὴ τὰ ὀνόματα ἀκούσεσθε, ἄνδρας ὄντας ἀγαθοὺς περὶ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ὑμέτερον, ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα ἀπέκτεινε, μηνυτὴς κατ' ἐκείνων γενόμενος. ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ἐμὲ μὲν ἰδίᾳ καὶ ἕκαστον τῶν προσηκόντων μεγάλα ἐζημίωσε, τὴν δὲ πόλιν κοινῇ πᾶσαν τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν ἀποστερήσας οὐ μικρά, ὡς ἐγὼ νομίζω, ἔβλαψεν. ἐγὼ οὖν, ἄνδρες δικα- 3
σταί, δίκαιον καὶ ὅσιον ἡγοῦμαι εἶναι καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ

ὑμῖν ἅπασι τιμωρεῖσθαι καθ' ὅσον ἕκαστος δύναται· καὶ ποιοῦσι ταῦτα νομίζω ἡμῖν καὶ παρὰ θεῶν καὶ παρ' ἀνθρώπων ἄμεινον ἂν γίγνεσθαι.
4 δεῖ δ' ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῶν πραγμάτων ἁπάντων ἀκοῦσαι, ἵν' εἰδῆτε πρῶτον μὲν ᾧ τρόπῳ ὑμῖν ἡ δημοκρατία κατελύθη καὶ ὑφ' ὅτου, ἔπειτα ᾧ τρόπῳ οἱ ἄνδρες ὑπ' Ἀγοράτου ἀπέθανον, καὶ δὴ ὅ τι ἀποθνήσκειν μέλλοντες ἐπέσκηψαν· ἅπαντα γὰρ ταῦτα ἀκριβῶς ἂν μαθόντες ἥδιον καὶ ὁσιώτερον Ἀγοράτου τουτουὶ καταψηφίζοισθε. ὅθεν οὖν ἡμεῖς τε ῥᾷστα διδάξομεν καὶ ὑμεῖς μαθήσεσθε, ἐντεῦθεν ὑμῖν ἄρξομαι διηγεῖσθαι.

5 Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ αἱ νῆες αἱ ὑμέτεραι διεφθάρησαν καὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀσθενέστερα ἐγεγένητο, οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ ὕστερον αἵ τε νῆες αἱ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἀφικνοῦνται, καὶ ἅμα λόγοι πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐγίγ-
6 νοντο. ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ οἱ βουλόμενοι νεώτερα πράγματα ἐν τῇ πόλει γίγνεσθαι ἐπεβούλευον, νομίζοντες κάλλιστον καιρὸν εἰληφέναι καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ τὰ πράγματα, ὡς αὐτοὶ
7 ἠβούλοντο, καταστήσασθαι. ἡγοῦντο δὲ οὐδὲν ἄλλο σφίσιν ἐμποδὼν εἶναι ἢ τοὺς τοῦ δήμου προεστηκότας καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοῦντας καὶ ταξιαρχοῦντας. τούτους οὖν ἐβούλοντο ἀμωσγέπως ἐκποδὼν ποιήσασθαι, ἵνα ῥᾳδίως ἃ βούλοιντο διαπράττοιντο. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν Κλεοφῶντι ἐπέθεντο

ἐκ τρόπου τοιούτου. ὅτε γὰρ ἡ πρώτη ἐκκλησία 8
περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐγίγνετο, καὶ οἱ παρὰ Λακεδαι-
μονίων ἥκοντες ἔλεγον ἐφ' οἷς ἕτοιμοι εἶεν τὴν
εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εἰ κατασκαφείη
τῶν τειχῶν τῶν μακρῶν ἐπὶ δέκα στάδια ἑκατέρου,
τότε ὑμεῖς τε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐκ ἠνέσχεσθε
ἀκούσαντες περὶ τῶν τειχῶν τῆς κατασκαφῆς,
Κλεοφῶν τε ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πάντων ἀναστὰς ἀντεῖπεν
ὡς οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ οἷόν τε εἴη ποιεῖν ταῦτα. μετὰ 9
δὲ ταῦτα Θηραμένης, ἐπιβουλεύων τῷ πλήθει τῷ
ὑμετέρῳ, ἀναστὰς λέγει ὅτι, ἐὰν αὐτὸν ἕλησθε περὶ
τῆς εἰρήνης πρεσβευτὴν αὐτοκράτορα, ποιήσειν
ὥστε μήτε τῶν τειχῶν διελεῖν μήτε ἄλλο τὴν πόλιν
ἐλαττῶσαι μηδέν· οἴοιτο δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τι ἀγαθὸν
παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων τῇ πόλει εὑρήσεσθαι. πει- 10
σθέντες δὲ ὑμεῖς εἵλεσθε ἐκεῖνον πρεσβευτὴν αὐτο-
κράτορα, ὃν τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει στρατηγὸν χειροτο-
νηθέντα ἀπεδοκιμάσατε, οὐ νομίζοντες εὔνουν εἶναι
τῷ πλήθει τῷ ὑμετέρῳ. ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν ἐλθὼν εἰς 11
Λακεδαίμονα ἔμεινεν ἐκεῖ πολὺν χρόνον, καταλι-
πὼν ὑμᾶς πολιορκουμένους, εἰδὼς τὸ ὑμέτερον πλῆ-
θος ἐν ἀπορίᾳ ἐχόμενον καὶ διὰ τὸν πόλεμον καὶ
τὰ κακὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐνδεεῖς
ὄντας, νομίζων, εἰ διαθείη ὑμᾶς ἀπόρως ὥσπερ
διέθηκεν, ἀσμένως ὁποιαντινοῦν ἐθελῆσαι ἂν εἰρή-
νην ποιήσασθαι. οἱ δ' ἐνθάδε ὑπομένοντες καὶ 12
ἐπιβουλεύοντες καταλῦσαι τὴν δημοκρατίαν εἰς
ἀγῶνα Κλεοφῶντα καθιστᾶσι, πρόφασιν μὲν ὅτι

οὐκ ἦλθεν εἰς τὰ ὅπλα ἀναπαυσόμενος, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ὅτι ἀντεῖπεν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν μὴ καθαιρεῖν τὰ τείχη. ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὖν δικαστήριον παρασκευάσαντες καὶ εἰσελθόντες οἱ βουλόμενοι ὀλιγαρχίαν καταστήσα-
13 σθαι ἀπέκτειναν ἐν τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ. Θηραμένης δὲ ὕστερον ἀφικνεῖται ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος. προσιόντες δ' αὐτῷ τῶν τε στρατηγῶν τινες καὶ τῶν ταξιάρχων, ὧν ἦν Στρομβιχίδης καὶ Διονυσόδωρος, καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν πολιτῶν εὐνοοῦντες ὑμῖν, ὥς γ' ἐδήλωσαν ὕστερον, ἠγανάκτουν σφόδρα. ἦλθε γὰρ φέρων εἰρήνην τοιαύτην, ἣν ἡμεῖς ἔργῳ μαθόντες ἔγνωμεν· πολλοὺς γὰρ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἀπωλέσαμεν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν
14 τριάκοντα ἐξηλάθημεν. ἦν γὰρ ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ ἐπὶ δέκα στάδια τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν διελεῖν ὅλα τὰ μακρὰ τείχη κατασκάψαι, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ἄλλο τι ἀγαθὸν τῇ πόλει εὑρέσθαι τάς τε ναῦς παραδοῦναι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ τεῖχος
15 περιελεῖν. // ὁρῶντες δὲ οὗτοι οἱ ἄνδρες ὀνόματι μὲν εἰρήνην γενομένην, τῷ δ' ἔργῳ τὴν δημοκρατίαν καταλυομένην, οὐκ ἔφασαν ἐπιτρέψαι ταῦτα γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἐλεοῦντες, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰ τείχη, εἰ πεσεῖται, οὐδὲ κηδόμενοι τῶν νεῶν, εἰ Λακεδαιμονίοις παραδοθήσονται (οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς
16 τούτων πλεῖον ἢ ὑμῶν ἑκάστῳ προσῆκεν), ἀλλ' αἰσθόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ τρόπου τούτου τὸ ὑμέτερον πλῆθος καταλυθησόμενον, οὐδ' (ὥς φασί τινες) οὐκ ἐπιθυμοῦντες εἰρήνην γίγνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ βουλόμενοι

βελτίω ταύτης εἰρήνην τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ποιήσασθαι. ἐνόμιζον δὲ δυνήσεσθαι, καὶ ἔπραξαν ἂν ταῦτα, εἰ μὴ ὑπ' Ἀγοράτου τουτουὶ ἀπώλοντο. γνοὺς δὲ ταῦτα Θηραμένης καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι 17
οἱ ἐπιβουλεύοντες ὑμῖν, ὅτι εἰσί τινες οἳ κωλύσουσι τὸν δῆμον καταλυθῆναι καὶ ἐναντιώσονται περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, εἵλοντο, πρὶν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης γενέσθαι, τούτους πρῶτον εἰς διαβολὰς καὶ κινδύνους καταστῆσαι, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἐκεῖ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὑμετέρου πλήθους ἀντιλέγοι. ἐπι- 18
βουλὴν οὖν τοιαύτην ἐπιβουλεύουσι. πείθουσι γὰρ Ἀγόρατον τουτονὶ μηνυτὴν κατὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τῶν ταξιάρχων γενέσθαι, οὐ ξυνειδότα ἐκείνοις, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐδέν (οὐ γὰρ δήπου ἐκεῖνοι οὕτως ἀνόητοι ἦσαν καὶ ἄφιλοι, ὥστε περὶ τηλικούτων ἂν πραγμάτων πράττοντες Ἀγόρατον ὡς πιστὸν καὶ εὔνουν, δοῦλον καὶ ἐκ δούλων ὄντα, παρεκάλεσαν), — ἀλλ' ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς οὗτος ἐπιτήδειος εἶναι μηνυτής. ἐβούλοντο οὖν ἄκοντα δοκεῖν 19
αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ ἑκόντα μηνύειν, ὅπως πιστότερα ὑμῖν ὑποφαίνοιτο. ὡς δὲ ἑκὼν ἐμήνυσε, καὶ ὑμᾶς οἶμαι τῶν πεπραγμένων αἰσθήσεσθαι. εἰσπέμπουσι γὰρ εἰς τὴν βουλὴν [τὴν πρὸ τῶν τριάκοντα βουλεύουσαν] Θεόκριτον τὸν τοῦ Ἐλαφοστίκτου καλούμενον· ὁ δὲ Θεόκριτος οὗτος ἑταῖρος ἦν τῷ Ἀγοράτῳ καὶ ἐπιτήδειος. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ ἡ πρὸ τῶν 20
τριάκοντα βουλεύουσα διέφθαρτο καὶ ὀλιγαρχίας ἐπεθύμει, ὡς ἴστε, μάλιστα. τεκμήριον δέ· οἱ

ὑμῖν ἅπασι τιμωρεῖσθαι καθ' ὅσον ἕκαστος δύναται· καὶ ποιοῦσι ταῦτα νομίζω ἡμῖν καὶ παρὰ θεῶν καὶ παρ' ἀνθρώπων ἄμεινον ἂν γίγνεσθαι.

4 δεῖ δ' ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῶν πραγμάτων ἁπάντων ἀκοῦσαι, ἵν' εἰδῆτε πρῶτον μὲν ᾧ τρόπῳ ὑμῖν ἡ δημοκρατία κατελύθη καὶ ὑφ' ὅτου, ἔπειτα ᾧ τρόπῳ οἱ ἄνδρες ὑπ' Ἀγοράτου ἀπέθανον, καὶ δὴ ὅ τι ἀποθνήσκειν μέλλοντες ἐπέσκηψαν· ἅπαντα γὰρ ταῦτα ἀκριβῶς ἂν μαθόντες ἥδιον καὶ ὁσιώτερον Ἀγοράτου τουτουὶ καταψηφίζοισθε. ὅθεν οὖν ἡμεῖς τε ῥᾷστα διδάξομεν καὶ ὑμεῖς μαθήσεσθε, ἐντεῦθεν ὑμῖν ἄρξομαι διηγεῖσθαι.

5 Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ αἱ νῆες αἱ ὑμέτεραι διεφθάρησαν καὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀσθενέστερα ἐγεγένητο, οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ ὕστερον αἵ τε νῆες αἱ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἀφικνοῦνται, καὶ ἅμα λόγοι πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐγίγ-

6 νοντο. ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ οἱ βουλόμενοι νεώτερα πράγματα ἐν τῇ πόλει γίγνεσθαι ἐπεβούλευον, νομίζοντες κάλλιστον καιρὸν εἰληφέναι καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ τὰ πράγματα, ὡς αὐτοὶ

7 ἠβούλοντο, καταστήσασθαι. ἡγοῦντο δὲ οὐδὲν ἄλλο σφίσιν ἐμποδὼν εἶναι ἢ τοὺς τοῦ δήμου προεστηκότας καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοῦντας καὶ ταξιαρχοῦντας. τούτους οὖν ἐβούλοντο ἀμωσγέπως ἐκποδὼν ποιήσασθαι, ἵνα ῥᾳδίως ἃ βούλοιντο διαπράττοιντο. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν Κλεοφῶντι ἐπέθεντο

ἐκ τρόπου τοιούτου. ὅτε γὰρ ἡ πρώτη ἐκκλησία 8
περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐγίγνετο, καὶ οἱ παρὰ Λακεδαι-
μονίων ἥκοντες ἔλεγον ἐφ' οἷς ἕτοιμοι εἶεν τὴν
εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εἰ κατασκαφείη
τῶν τειχῶν τῶν μακρῶν ἐπὶ δέκα στάδια ἑκατέρου,
τότε ὑμεῖς τε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐκ ἠνέσχεσθε
ἀκούσαντες περὶ τῶν τειχῶν τῆς κατασκαφῆς,
Κλεοφῶν τε ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πάντων ἀναστὰς ἀντεῖπεν
ὡς οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ οἷόν τε εἴη ποιεῖν ταῦτα. μετὰ 9
δὲ ταῦτα Θηραμένης, ἐπιβουλεύων τῷ πλήθει τῷ
ὑμετέρῳ, ἀναστὰς λέγει ὅτι, ἐὰν αὐτὸν ἕλησθε περὶ
τῆς εἰρήνης πρεσβευτὴν αὐτοκράτορα, ποιήσειν
ὥστε μήτε τῶν τειχῶν διελεῖν μήτε ἄλλο τὴν πόλιν
ἐλαττῶσαι μηδέν· οἴοιτο δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τι ἀγαθὸν
παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων τῇ πόλει εὑρήσεσθαι. πει- 10
σθέντες δὲ ὑμεῖς εἵλεσθε ἐκεῖνον πρεσβευτὴν αὐτο-
κράτορα, ὃν τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει στρατηγὸν χειροτο-
νηθέντα ἀπεδοκιμάσατε, οὐ νομίζοντες εὔνουν εἶναι
τῷ πλήθει τῷ ὑμετέρῳ. ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν ἐλθὼν εἰς 11
Λακεδαίμονα ἔμεινεν ἐκεῖ πολὺν χρόνον, καταλι-
πὼν ὑμᾶς πολιορκουμένους, εἰδὼς τὸ ὑμέτερον πλῆ-
θος ἐν ἀπορίᾳ ἐχόμενον καὶ διὰ τὸν πόλεμον καὶ
τὰ κακὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐνδεεῖς
ὄντας, νομίζων, εἰ διαθείη ὑμᾶς ἀπόρως ὥσπερ
διέθηκεν, ἀσμένως ὁποιαντινοῦν ἐθελῆσαι ἂν εἰρή-
νην ποιήσασθαι. οἱ δ' ἐνθάδε ὑπομένοντες καὶ 12
ἐπιβουλεύοντες καταλῦσαι τὴν δημοκρατίαν εἰς
ἀγῶνα Κλεοφῶντα καθιστᾶσι, πρόφασιν μὲν ὅτι

οὐκ ἦλθεν εἰς τὰ ὅπλα ἀναπαυσόμενος, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ὅτι ἀντεῖπεν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν μὴ καθαιρεῖν τὰ τείχη. ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὖν δικαστήριον παρασκευάσαντες καὶ εἰσελθόντες οἱ βουλόμενοι ὀλιγαρχίαν καταστήσα-
13 σθαι ἀπέκτειναν ἐν τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ. Θηραμένης δὲ ὕστερον ἀφικνεῖται ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος. προσιόντες δ' αὐτῷ τῶν τε στρατηγῶν τινες καὶ τῶν ταξιάρχων, ὧν ἦν Στρομβιχίδης καὶ Διονυσόδωρος, καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν πολιτῶν εὐνοοῦντες ὑμῖν, ὥς γ' ἐδήλωσαν ὕστερον, ἠγανάκτουν σφόδρα. ἦλθε γὰρ φέρων εἰρήνην τοιαύτην, ἣν ἡμεῖς ἔργῳ μαθόντες ἔγνωμεν· πολλοὺς γὰρ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἀπωλέσαμεν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν
14 τριάκοντα ἐξηλάθημεν. ἦν γὰρ ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ ἐπὶ δέκα στάδια τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν διελεῖν ὅλα τὰ μακρὰ τείχη κατασκάψαι, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ἄλλο τι ἀγαθὸν τῇ πόλει εὑρέσθαι τάς τε ναῦς παραδοῦναι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ τεῖχος
15 περιελεῖν. ὁρῶντες δὲ οὗτοι οἱ ἄνδρες ὀνόματι μὲν εἰρήνην γενομένην, τῷ δ' ἔργῳ τὴν δημοκρατίαν καταλυομένην, οὐκ ἔφασαν ἐπιτρέψαι ταῦτα γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἐλεοῦντες, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰ τείχη, εἰ πεσεῖται, οὐδὲ κηδόμενοι τῶν νεῶν, εἰ Λακεδαιμονίοις παραδοθήσονται (οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς
16 τούτων πλεῖον ἢ ὑμῶν ἑκάστῳ προσῆκεν), ἀλλ' αἰσθόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ τρόπου τούτου τὸ ὑμέτερον πλῆθος καταλυθησόμενον, οὐδ' (ὥς φασί τινες) οὐκ ἐπιθυμοῦντες εἰρήνην γίγνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ βουλόμενοι

βελτίω ταύτης εἰρήνην τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ποιήσασθαι. ἐνόμιζον δὲ δυνήσεσθαι, καὶ ἔπραξαν ἂν ταῦτα, εἰ μὴ ὑπ' Ἀγοράτου τουτουὶ ἀπώλοντο. γνοὺς δὲ ταῦτα Θηραμένης καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι 17
οἱ ἐπιβουλεύοντες ὑμῖν, ὅτι εἰσί τινες οἳ κωλύσουσι τὸν δῆμον καταλυθῆναι καὶ ἐναντιώσονται περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, εἵλοντο, πρὶν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης γενέσθαι, τούτους πρῶτον εἰς διαβολὰς καὶ κινδύνους καταστῆσαι, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἐκεῖ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὑμετέρου πλήθους ἀντιλέγοι. ἐπι- 18
βουλὴν οὖν τοιαύτην ἐπιβουλεύουσι. πείθουσι γὰρ Ἀγόρατον τουτονὶ μηνυτὴν κατὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τῶν ταξιάρχων γενέσθαι, οὐ ξυνειδότα ἐκείνοις, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐδέν (οὐ γὰρ δήπου ἐκεῖνοι οὕτως ἀνόητοι ἦσαν καὶ ἄφιλοι, ὥστε περὶ τηλικούτων ἂν πραγμάτων πράττοντες Ἀγόρατον ὡς πιστὸν καὶ εὔνουν, δοῦλον καὶ ἐκ δούλων ὄντα, παρεκάλεσαν), — ἀλλ' ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς οὗτος ἐπιτήδειος εἶναι μηνυτής. ἐβούλοντο οὖν ἄκοντα δοκεῖν 19
αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ ἑκόντα μηνύειν, ὅπως πιστότερα ὑμῖν ὑποφαίνοιτο. ὡς δὲ ἑκὼν ἐμήνυσε, καὶ ὑμᾶς οἶμαι τῶν πεπραγμένων αἰσθήσεσθαι. εἰσπέμπουσι γὰρ εἰς τὴν βουλὴν [τὴν πρὸ τῶν τριάκοντα βουλεύουσαν] Θεόκριτον τὸν τοῦ Ἐλαφοστίκτου καλούμενον· ὁ δὲ Θεόκριτος οὗτος ἑταῖρος ἦν τῷ Ἀγοράτῳ καὶ ἐπιτήδειος. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ ἡ πρὸ τῶν 20
τριάκοντα βουλεύουσα διέφθαρτο καὶ ὀλιγαρχίας ἐπεθύμει, ὡς ἴστε, μάλιστα. τεκμήριον δέ· οἱ

γὰρ πολλοὶ οἱ ἐξ ἐκείνης τῆς βουλῆς τὴν ὑστέραν βουλὴν τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα ἐβούλευον. τοῦ δ' ἕνεκα ταῦτα λέγω ὑμῖν; ἵν' εἰδῆτε ὅτι τὰ ψηφίσματα τὰ ἐξ ἐκείνης τῆς βουλῆς οὐκ ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ἀλλ' ἐπὶ καταλύσει τοῦ δήμου τοῦ ὑμετέρου ἅπαντα ἐλέγετο, καὶ ὡς τοιούτοις οὖσιν αὐτοῖς
21 τὸν νοῦν προσέχητε. εἰσελθὼν δὲ εἰς ταύτην τὴν βουλὴν ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ Θεόκριτος μηνύει ὅτι συλλέγονταί τινες ἐναντιωσόμενοι τοῖς τότε καθισταμένοις πράγμασι. τὰ μὲν οὖν ὀνόματα οὐκ ἔφη αὐτῶν ἐρεῖν καθ' ἕκαστον· ὅρκους τε γὰρ ὀμωμοκέναι τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐκείνοις, καὶ εἶναι ἑτέρους οἳ ἐροῦσι τὰ ὀνόματα, αὐτὸς δὲ οὐκ ἄν ποτε ποιῆσαι
22 ταῦτα. καίτοι εἰ μὴ ἐκ παρασκευῆς ἐμηνύετο, πῶς οὐκ ἂν ἠνάγκασεν ἡ βουλὴ εἰπεῖν τὰ ὀνόματα Θεόκριτον καὶ μὴ ἀνώνυμον τὴν μήνυσιν ποιήσασθαι; νυνὶ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα ψηφίζεται.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

23 Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα ἐψηφίσθη, κατέρχονται ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀγόρατον εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ οἱ αἱρεθέντες τῶν βουλευτῶν, καὶ περιτυχόντες αὐτῷ ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἐζήτουν ἄγειν. παραγενόμενος δὲ Νικίας καὶ Νικομένης καὶ ἄλλοι τινές, ὁρῶντες τὰ πράγματα οὐχ οἷα βέλτιστα ἐν τῇ πόλει ὄντα, ἄγειν μὲν τὸν Ἀγόρατον οὐκ ἔφασαν προήσεσθαι, ἀφηροῦντο δὲ καὶ ἠγγυῶντο καὶ ὡμολόγουν παράξειν

εἰς τὴν βουλήν. γραψάμενοι δὲ οἱ βουλευταὶ τὰ 24
ὀνόματα τῶν ἐγγυωμένων καὶ κωλυόντων, ἀπιόντες
ᾤχοντο εἰς ἄστυ. ὁ δὲ Ἀγόρατος καὶ οἱ ἐγγυηταὶ
καθίζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν Μουνυχίασιν· ἐπειδὴ
δὲ ἐκεῖ ἦσαν, ἐβουλεύοντο τί χρὴ ποιεῖν. ἐδόκει
οὖν τοῖς ἐγγυηταῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἐκποδὼν
ποιήσασθαι τὸν Ἀγόρατον ὡς τάχιστα, καὶ παρ- 25
ορμίσαντες δύο πλοῖα Μουνυχίασιν ἐδέοντο αὐτοῦ
παντὶ τρόπῳ ἀπελθεῖν Ἀθήνηθεν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔφα-
σαν συνεκπλευσεῖσθαι, ἕως τὰ πράγματα κατα-
σταίη, λέγοντες ὅτι, εἰ κομισθείη εἰς τὴν βουλήν,
βασανιζόμενος ἴσως ἀναγκασθήσεται ὀνόματα εἰ-
πεῖν Ἀθηναίων ὧν ἂν ὑποβάλωσιν οἱ βουλόμενοι
κακόν τι ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐργάζεσθαι. ταῦτα ἐκείνων 26
δεομένων, καὶ παρασκευασάντων πλοῖα, καὶ αὐτῶν
ἑτοίμων ὄντων συνεκπλεῖν, οὐκ ἠθέλησε πείθεσθαι
αὐτοῖς Ἀγόρατος οὑτοσί. καίτοι, ὦ Ἀγόρατε, εἰ
μή τί σοι ἦν παρεσκευασμένον καὶ ἐπίστευες μη-
δὲν κακὸν πείσεσθαι, πῶς οὐκ ἂν ᾤχου καὶ πλοίων
παρεσκευασμένων καὶ τῶν ἐγγυητῶν ἑτοίμων ὄντων
σοι συνεκπλεῖν; ἔτι γὰρ οἷόν τέ σοι ἦν, καὶ οὔπω
ἡ βουλή σου ἐκράτει. ἀλλὰ μὲν δὴ οὐχ ὁμοιά γε 27
σοὶ καὶ ἐκείνοις ὑπῆρχε. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ Ἀθη-
ναῖοι ἦσαν ὥστε οὐκ ἐδεδίεσαν βασανισθῆναι·
ἔπειτα πατρίδα σφετέραν αὐτῶν καταλιπόντες ἕτοι-
μοι ἦσαν συνεκπλεῖν μετὰ σοῦ, ἡγησάμενοι ταῦτα
μᾶλλον λυσιτελεῖν ἢ τῶν πολιτῶν πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγα-
θοὺς ὑπὸ σοῦ ἀδίκως ἀπολέσθαι. σοὶ δὲ πρῶτον

μὲν κίνδυνος ἦν βασανισθῆναι ὑπομείναντι, ἔπειτα
28 οὐ πατρίδα ἂν σαυτοῦ κατέλιπες· ὥστ' ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου σοὶ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκείνοις ἐκπλεῦσαι συνέφερεν, εἰ μή τι ἦν ᾧ ἐπίστευες. νῦν δὲ ἄκων μὲν προσποιῇ, ἑκὼν δὲ πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς Ἀθηναίων ἀπέκτεινας. ὡς δὲ παρεσκευάσθη ἅπαντα ἃ ἐγὼ λέγω, καὶ μάρτυρές εἰσι καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ψήφισμα σοῦ τὸ τῆς βουλῆς καταμαρτυρήσει.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

29 Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα ἐψηφίσθη καὶ ἦλθον οἱ ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς Μουνυχίαζε, ἑκὼν ἀνέστη Ἀγόρατος ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ· καίτοι νῦν γε βίᾳ φησὶν ἀφαιρεθῆναι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰς τὴν βουλὴν
30 ἐκομίσθησαν, ἀπογράφει Ἀγόρατος πρῶτον μὲν τῶν αὐτοῦ ἐγγυητῶν τὰ ὀνόματα, ἔπειτα τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τῶν ταξιάρχων, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν πολιτῶν. ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ αὕτη τοῦ παντὸς κακοῦ ἐγένετο. ὡς δὲ ἀπέγραψε τὰ ὀνόματα, οἶμαι μὲν καὶ αὐτὸν ὁμολογήσειν· εἰ δὲ μή, ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ ἐγὼ αὐτὸν ἐξελέγξω. Ἀπόκριναι δή μοι.

ΕΡΩΤΗΣΙΣ.

31 Ἐβούλοντο τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἔτι πλειόνων αὐτῶν τὰ ὀνόματα ἀπογράψαι — οὕτω σφόδρα ἔρρωτο ἡ βουλὴ κακόν τι ἐργάζεσθαι — καὶ

αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς ἅπαντα τἀληθῆ πω κατηγορηκέναι. τούτους μὲν οὖν ἅπαντας ἑκὼν ἀπογράφει, οὐδεμιᾶς αὐτῷ ἀνάγκης οὔσης. [μετὰ τοῦτο προσαπογράφει ἑτέρους τῶν πολιτῶν.] ἐπειδὴ 32
δὲ ἡ ἐκκλησία Μουνυχίασιν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἐγίγνετο, οὕτω σφόδρα τινὲς ἐπεμελοῦντο ὅπως καὶ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ περὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τῶν ταξιάρχων μήνυσις γένοιτο (περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπέχρη ἡ ἐν τῇ βουλῇ [μήνυσις] γεγενημένη), ὥστε καὶ ἐκεῖ παράγουσιν εἰς τὸν δῆμον. Καί μοι ἀπόκριναι, ὦ Ἀγόρατε· ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶμαί σε ἔξαρνον ἂν γενέσθαι ἃ ἐναντίον Ἀθηναίων ἁπάντων ἐποίησας.

ΕΡΩΤΗΣΙΣ.

Ὁμολογεῖ μὲν καὶ αὐτός, ὅμως δὲ καὶ τὰ ψηφί- 33
σματα ὑμῖν τοῦ δήμου ἀναγνώσεται.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

Ὅτι μὲν ἀπέγραψεν Ἀγόρατος οὑτοσὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων τὰ ὀνόματα, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ ἔστι φονεὺς ἐκείνων, σχεδόν τι οἶμαι ὑμᾶς ἐπίστασθαι· ὡς τοίνυν ἁπάντων τῶν κακῶν αἴτιος τῇ πόλει ἐγένετο καὶ οὐδ' ὑφ' ἑνὸς αὐτὸν προσήκει ἐλεεῖσθαι, ἐγὼ οἶμαι ὑμῖν ἐν κεφαλαίοις ἀποδείξειν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι συλληφθέν- 34
τες ἐδέθησαν, τότε καὶ ὁ Λύσανδρος εἰς τοὺς

λιμένας τοὺς ὑμετέρους εἰσέπλευσε, καὶ αἱ νῆες αἱ ὑμέτεραι Λακεδαιμονίοις παρεδόθησαν, καὶ τὰ τείχη κατεσκάφη, καὶ οἱ τριάκοντα κατέστησαν, καὶ τί οὐ τῶν δεινῶν τῇ πόλει ἐγένετο; ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν οἱ τριάκοντα κατεστάθησαν, εὐθέως κρίσιν τοῖς ἀνδράσι τούτοις ἐποίουν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ ἐν δισχιλίοις ἐψηφίσατο. Καί μοι ἀνάγνωθι τὸ ψήφισμα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ ἐκρίνοντο, ῥᾳδίως ἂν ἐσώζοντο· ἅπαντες γὰρ ἤδη ἐγνωκότες ἦτε οὗ ἦν κακοῦ ἡ πόλις, ἐν ᾧ οὐδὲν ἔτι ὠφελεῖν ἐδύνασθε· νῦν δ' εἰς τὴν βουλὴν αὐτοὺς τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα εἰσάγουσιν. ἡ δὲ κρίσις τοιαύτη ἐγίγνετο, οἵαν καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἐπίστασθε. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τριάκοντα ἐκάθηντο ἐπὶ τῶν βάθρων, οὗ νῦν οἱ πρυτάνεις καθέζονται· δύο δὲ τράπεζαι ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν τῶν τριάκοντα ἐκείσθην· τὴν δὲ ψῆφον οὐκ εἰς καδίσκους ἀλλὰ φανερὰν ἐπὶ τὰς τραπέζας ταύτας ἔδει τίθεσθαι, τὴν μὲν καθαιροῦσαν ἐπὶ τὴν ὑστέραν .... ὥστε ἐκ τίνος τρόπου ἔμελλέ τις αὐτῶν σωθήσεσθαι; ἑνὶ δὲ λόγῳ, ὅσοι εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα εἰσῆλθον κριθησόμενοι, ἁπάντων θάνατος κατεγινώσκετο καὶ οὐδενὸς ἀπεψηφίσαντο, πλὴν Ἀγοράτου τουτουί. τοῦτον δὲ ἀφεῖσαν ὡς εὐεργέτην ὄντα· ἵνα δὲ

εἰδῆτε ὡς πολλοὶ ὑπὸ τούτου τεθνᾶσι, βούλομαι ὑμῖν τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν ἀναγνῶναι.

ONOMATA.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, θάνατος αὐ- 39
τῶν κατεγνώσθη καὶ ἔδει αὐτοὺς ἀποθνήσκειν,
μεταπέμπονται εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ὁ μὲν ἀδελφήν,
ὁ δὲ μητέρα, ὁ δὲ γυναῖκα, ὁ δ' ἥ τις ἦν ἑκάστῳ
αὐτῶν προσήκουσα, ἵνα τὰ ὕστατα ἀσπασάμενοι
τοὺς αὑτῶν οὕτω τὸν βίον τελευτήσειαν. καὶ δὴ 40
καὶ Διονυσόδωρος μεταπέμπεται τὴν ἀδελφὴν τὴν
ἐμὴν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον, γυναῖκα ἑαυτοῦ οὖσαν.
πυθομένη δ' ἐκείνη ἀφικνεῖται, μέλαν τε ἱμάτιον
ἠμφιεσμένη, ... ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς
τοιαύτῃ συμφορᾷ κεχρημένῳ. ἐναντίον δὲ τῆς 41
ἀδελφῆς τῆς ἐμῆς Διονυσόδωρος τά τε οἰκεῖα τὰ
αὑτοῦ διέθετο ὅπως αὐτῷ ἐδόκει, καὶ περὶ Ἀγο-
ράτου τουτουὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι αἴτιος ἦν τοῦ θανάτου,
καὶ ἐπέσκηπτεν ἐμοὶ καὶ Διονυσίῳ τουτωί, τῷ
ἀδελφῷ τῷ αὑτοῦ, καὶ τοῖς φίλοις πᾶσι τιμωρεῖν
ὑπὲρ αὑτοῦ Ἀγόρατον· καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ τῇ αὑτοῦ 42
ἐπέσκηπτε, νομίζων αὐτὴν κυεῖν ἐξ αὑτοῦ, ἐὰν
γένηται αὐτῇ παιδίον, φράζειν τῷ γενομένῳ ὅτι
τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ Ἀγόρατος ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ κελεύ-
ειν τιμωρεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ὡς φονέα ὄντα. ὡς οὖν
ἀληθῆ λέγω, μάρτυρας τούτων παρέξομαι.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

43 Οὗτοι μὲν τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὑπ' Ἀγοράτου ἀπογραφέντες ἀπέθανον· ἐπεὶ δὲ τούτους ἐκποδὼν ἐποιήσαντο οἱ τριάκοντα, σχεδὸν οἶμαι ὑμᾶς ἐπίστασθαι ὡς πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ μετὰ ταῦτα τῇ πόλει ἐγένετο· ὧν οὗτος ἁπάντων αἴτιός ἐστιν, ἀποκτείνας ἐκείνους. ἀνιῶμαι μὲν οὖν ὑπομιμνή-
44 σκων τὰς γεγενημένας συμφορὰς τῇ πόλει, ἀνάγκη δ' ἐστίν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἐν τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ, ἵν' εἰδῆτε ὡς σφόδρα ὑμῖν ἐλεεῖν προσήκει Ἀγόρατον. ἴστε μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος τῶν πολιτῶν κομισθέντας, οἷοι ἦσαν καὶ ὅσοι, καὶ οἴῳ ὀλέθρῳ ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα ἀπώλοντο· ἴστε δὲ τοὺς ἐξ Ἐλευσῖνος, ὡς πολλοὶ ταύτῃ τῇ συμφορᾷ ἐχρήσαντο· μέμνησθε δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐνθάδε διὰ τὰς
45 ἰδίας ἔχθρας ἀπαγομένους εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον· οἳ οὐδὲν κακὸν τὴν πόλιν ποιήσαντες ἠναγκάζοντο αἰσχίστῳ καὶ ἀκλεεστάτῳ ὀλέθρῳ ἀπόλλυσθαι, οἱ μὲν γονέας [σφετέρους αὐτῶν] πρεσβύτας καταλείποντες, οἳ ἤλπιζον ὑπὸ τῶν σφετέρων αὐτῶν παίδων γηροτροφηθέντες, ἐπειδὴ τελευτήσειαν τὸν βίον, ταφήσεσθαι, οἱ δὲ ἀδελφὰς ἀνεκδότους, οἱ δὲ παῖδας μικροὺς πολλῆς ἔτι θεραπείας δεομένους·
46 οὓς, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ποίαν τινὰ οἴεσθε γνώμην περὶ τούτου ἔχειν, ἢ ποίαν τινὰ ἂν ψῆφον θέσθαι, εἰ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις γένοιτο, ἀποστερηθέντας διὰ τοῦτον τῶν ἡδίστων; ἔτι δὲ τὰ τείχη ὡς κατεσκάφη, καὶ αἱ νῆες τοῖς πολεμίοις παρεδόθησαν, καὶ τὰ νεώρια καθῃρέθη, καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ὑμῶν

εἶχον, καὶ ἡ δύναμις ἅπασα τῆς πόλεως παρελύθη, ὥστε μηδὲν διαφέρειν τῆς ἐλαχίστης πόλεως τὴν πόλιν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὰς ἰδίας οὐσίας ἀπωλέ- 47
σατε, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον συλλήβδην ἅπαντες ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἐξηλάθητε. ταῦτα ἐκεῖνοι οἱ ἀγαθοὶ ἄνδρες αἰσθόμενοι οὐκ ἔφασαν ἐπιτρέψαι τὴν εἰρήνην, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ποιήσασθαι· οὓς σύ, Ἀγόρατε, βουλομένους ἀγαθόν 48
τι πρᾶξαι τῇ πόλει ἀπέκτεινας, μηνύσας αὐτοὺς τῇ πόλει ἐπιβουλεύειν [τῷ πλήθει τῷ ὑμετέρῳ], καὶ αἴτιος εἶ ἁπάντων τῇ πόλει τῶν κακῶν τῶν γεγενημένων. νῦν οὖν μνησθέντες καὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἕκαστος δυστυχημάτων καὶ τῶν κοινῶν τῆς πόλεως, τιμωρεῖσθε τὸν αἴτιον τούτων.

Θαυμάζω δ' ἔγωγε, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ὅ τί 49
ποτε τολμήσει πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀπολογεῖσθαι· δεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀποδεῖξαι ὡς οὐ κατεμήνυσε τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων οὐδ' αἴτιος αὐτοῖς ἐστι τοῦ θανάτου, ὃ οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο οὐδέποτε [ἀποδεῖξαι]. πρῶτον μὲν 50
γὰρ τὰ ψηφίσματα αὐτοῦ τὰ ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καταμαρτυρεῖ, διαρρήδην ἀγορεύοντα περὶ ὧν Ἀγόρατος κατεῖρηκεν· ἔπειτα ἡ κρίσις, ἣν ἐκρίθη ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα καὶ ἀφείθη, διαρρήδην λέγει, "διότι" φησίν "ἔδοξε τἀληθῆ εἰσαγγεῖλαι." Καί μοι ἀνάγνωθι.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ. ΓΝΩΣΙΣ. ΓΡΑΦΑΙ.

51 Ὡς μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀπέγραψεν, οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ δύναιτ' ἂν ἀποδεῖξαι· δεῖ τοίνυν αὐτὸν ὡς δικαίως ἐμήνυσε ταῦτα ἀποφαίνειν, ὁρῶν αὐτοὺς πονηρὰ καὶ οὐκ ἐπιτήδεια τῷ δήμῳ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πράττοντας. οἶομαι δ' οὐδ' ἂν τοῦτο αὐτὸν ἐπιχειρῆσαι ἀποδεικνύναι. οὐ γὰρ δήπου, εἴ τι κακὸν τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων εἰργάσαντο, οἱ τριάκοντα, δεδιότες μὴ καταλυθείη ἂν ὁ δῆμος, τιμωροῦντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου ἂν αὐτοὺς ἀπέκτειναν, ἀλλ' οἶμαι πολὺ τοὐναντίον τούτου.

52 Ἀλλ' ἴσως φήσει ἄκων τοσαῦτα κακὰ ἐργάσασθαι. ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ οἶμαι, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, οὐδ' ἐάν τις ὑμᾶς ὡς μάλιστα ἄκων μεγάλα κακὰ ἐργάσηται, ὧν μὴ οἷόν τε γενέσθαι ἐστὶν ὑπερβολήν, οὐ τούτου ἕνεκα οὐ δεῖν ὑμᾶς ἀμύνεσθαι. εἶτα δὲ καὶ ἐκείνων μέμνησθε, ὅτι ἐξῆν Ἀγοράτῳ τουτωΐ, πρὶν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν κομισθῆναι, ὅτ' ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ ἐκάθητο Μουνυχίασι, σωθῆναι· καὶ γὰρ πλοῖα παρεσκεύαστο καὶ οἱ ἐγγυηταὶ ἕτοιμοι ἦσαν
53 συναπιέναι. καίτοι εἰ ἐκείνοις ἐπίθου καὶ ἠθέλησας ἐκπλεῦσαι μετ' ἐκείνων, οὔτ' ἂν ἑκὼν οὔτε ἄκων τοσούτους Ἀθηναίων ἀπέκτεινας· νῦν δὲ πεισθεὶς ὑφ' ὧν τότε ἐπείσθης, εἰ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τῶν ταξιάρχων τὰ ὀνόματα μόνον εἴποις, μέγα τι ᾤου παρ' αὐτῶν διαπράξασθαι. οὔκουν τούτου ἕνεκα δεῖ σε παρ' ἡμῶν συγγνώμης τινὸς τυχεῖν, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνοι παρὰ σοῦ οὐδεμιᾶς ἔτυχον, οὓς
54 σὺ ἀπέκτεινας. καὶ Ἱππίας μὲν ὁ Θάσιος καὶ

Ξενοφῶν ὁ Καριδεύς, οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτῇ αἰτίᾳ τούτῳ ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς μετεπέμφθησαν, οὗτοι μὲν ἀπέθανον, ὁ μὲν στρεβλωθείς, Ξενοφῶν, ὁ δὲ Ἱππίας οὕτω ...., διότι οὐκ ἄξιοι ἐδόκουν τοῖς τριάκοντα σωτηρίας εἶναι (οὐδένα γὰρ Ἀθηναίων ἀπώλλυσαν)· Ἀγόρατος δὲ ἀφείθη, διότι ἐδόκει ἐκείνοις τὰ ἥδιστα πεποιηκέναι.

Ἀκούω δ' αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς Μενέστρατον ἀναφέρειν 55
τι περὶ τῶν γραφῶν τούτων. τὸ δὲ τοῦ Μενεστράτου πρᾶγμα τοιοῦτον ἐγένετο. ὁ Μενέστρατος οὗτος ἀπεγράφη ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀγοράτου καὶ συλληφθεὶς ἐδέδετο· Ἀγνόδωρος δ' ἦν Ἀμφιτροπαιεύς, δημότης τοῦ Μενεστράτου, Κριτίου κηδεστὴς τοῦ τῶν τριάκοντα. οὗτος οὖν, ὅτε ἡ ἐκκλησία Μουνυχίασιν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἐγίνετο, ἅμα μὲν βουλόμενος τὸν Μενέστρατον σωθῆναι, ἅμα δὲ ὡς πλείστους ἀπογραφέντας ἀπολέσθαι, παράγει αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν δῆμον, καὶ εὑρίσκονται αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα τουτὶ ἄδειαν.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα ἐγένετο, μηνύει 56
ὁ Μενέστρατος καὶ προσαπογράφει ἑτέρους τῶν πολιτῶν. τοῦτον μέντοι οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα ἀφεῖσαν ὥσπερ Ἀγόρατον τουτονί, δόξαντα τἀληθῆ εἰσαγγεῖλαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ πολλῷ χρόνῳ ὕστερον λαβόντες ἐν δικαστηρίῳ ὡς ἀνδροφόνον ὄντα, θάνατον

δικαίως καταψηφισάμενοι, τῷ δημίῳ παρέδοτε, καὶ
57 ἀπετυμπανίσθη. καίτοι εἰ ἐκεῖνος ἀπέθανεν, ἦ
που Ἀγόρατός γε δικαίως ἀποθανεῖται, ὅς γε τόν
τε Μενέστρατον ἀπογράψας αἴτιος ἐκείνῳ ἐστὶ
τοῦ θανάτου, καὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ Μενεστράτου ἀπογρα-
φεῖσι τίς αἰτιώτερος ἢ ὁ εἰς τοιαύτην ἀνάγκην
ἐκεῖνον καταστήσας;
58 Ἀνόμοιος δέ μοι δοκεῖ Ἀριστοφάνει γενέσθαι
τῷ Χολλείδῃ, ὃς ἐγγυητὴς τότε τούτου ἐγένετο καὶ
τὰ πλοῖα παρασκευάσας Μουνυχίασιν ἕτοιμος ἦν
συνεκπλεῖν μετὰ τούτου. καὶ τό γε ἐπ' ἐκείνου
εἶναι ἐσώθης, καὶ οὔτ' ἂν Ἀθηναίων οὐδένα ἀπώ-
λεσας οὔτ' ἂν αὐτὸς σὺ εἰς τοιούτους κινδύνους
59 κατέστης· νῦν δὲ καὶ τὸν σωτῆρα τὸν σαυτοῦ
ἐτόλμησας ἀπογράψαι, καὶ ἀπογράψας ἀπέκτεινας
καὶ ἐκεῖνον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐγγυητάς. τοῦτον
μέντοι ὡς οὐ καθαρῶς Ἀθηναῖον ὄντα ἐβούλοντό
τινες βασανισθῆναι, καὶ τουτὶ τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν
δῆμον ἀναπείθουσι ψηφίζεσθαι.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

60 Μετὰ τοῦτο τοίνυν προσιόντες τῷ Ἀριστοφάνει
οἱ πράττοντες τότε τὰ πράγματα ἐδέοντο αὐτοῦ
κατειπεῖν καὶ σώζεσθαι, καὶ μὴ κινδυνεύειν ἀγω-
νισάμενον τῆς ξενίας τὰ ἔσχατα παθεῖν. ὁ δὲ
οὐκ ἔφη οὐδέποτε· οὕτω χρηστὸς ἦν καὶ περὶ
τοὺς δεδεμένους καὶ περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων,

ὥστε εἵλετο μᾶλλον ἀποθανεῖν ἢ κατειπεῖν καὶ ἀδίκως τινὰς ἀπολέσαι. ἐκεῖνος μὲν τοίνυν καὶ 61
ὑπὸ σοῦ ἀπολλύμενος τοιουτοσὶ ἐγένετο [καὶ Ξενοφῶν ὁ στρεβλωθεὶς καὶ Ἱππίας ὁ Θάσιος]· σὺ δ'
οὐδὲν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐκείνοις συνειδώς, πεισθεὶς δὲ
ὡς σύ γε, ἂν ἐκεῖνοι ἀπόλωνται, μεθέξεις τῆς τότε
πολιτείας καθισταμένης, ἀπέγραφες καὶ ἀπέκτεινας
Ἀθηναίων πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθούς.

Βούλομαι δ' ὑμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἐπιδεῖξαι 62
οἵων ἀνδρῶν ὑπ' Ἀγοράτου ἀπεστέρησθε. εἰ μὲν οὖ
πολλοὶ ἦσαν, καθ' ἕκαστον ἂν περὶ αὐτῶν ἠκούετε,
νῦν δὲ συλλήβδην περὶ πάντων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ,
στρατηγήσαντες ὑμῖν πολλάκις, μείζω τὴν πόλιν
τοῖς διαδεχομένοις στρατηγοῖς παρεδίδοσαν· οἱ δ'
ἑτέρας μεγάλας ἀρχὰς ἄρξαντες καὶ τριηραρχίας
πολλὰς τριηραρχήσαντες οὐδεπώποτε ὑφ' ὑμῶν οὐ-
δεμίαν αἰτίαν αἰσχρὰν ἔσχον. οἱ δ' αὐτῶν περι- 63
γενόμενοι καὶ σωθέντες, οὓς οὗτος μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν
ὠμῶς καὶ θάνατος αὐτῶν κατεγνώσθη, ἡ δὲ τύχη
καὶ ὁ δαίμων περιεποίησε· φυγόντες γὰρ ἐνθένδε
καὶ οὐ συλληφθέντες γε οὐδὲ ὑπομείναντες τὴν
κρίσιν, κατελθόντες ἀπὸ Φυλῆς τιμῶνται ὑφ' ὑμῶν
ὡς ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ὄντες.

Τούτους μέντοι τοιούτους ὄντας Ἀγόρατος τοὺς 64
μὲν ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ φυγάδας ἐντεῦθεν ἐποίησε,
τίς ὢν αὐτός; δεῖ γὰρ ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι ὅτι δοῦλος καὶ
ἐκ δούλων ἐστίν, ἵν' εἰδῆτε οἷος ὢν ὑμᾶς ἐλυμαί-
νετο. τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ πατὴρ ἦν Εὐμάρης, ἐγένετο

δὲ ὁ Εὐμάρης οὗτος Νικοκλέους καὶ Ἀντικλέους. Καί μοι ἀνάβητε μάρτυρες.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

65 [Πολλὰ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ὅσα κακὰ καὶ αἰσχρὰ καὶ τούτῳ καὶ τοῖς τούτου ἀδελφοῖς ἐπιτετήδευται, πολὺ ἂν εἴη ἔργον λέγειν. περὶ δὲ συκοφαντίας, ὅσας οὗτος ἢ δίκας ἰδίας συκοφαντῶν ἐδικάζετο ἢ γραφὰς ὅσας ἐγράφετο ἢ ἀπογραφὰς ἀπέγραφεν, οὐδέν με δεῖ καθ' ἕκαστον λέγειν· συλλήβδην γὰρ ὑμεῖς ἅπαντες καὶ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ συκοφαντίας αὐτοῦ κατέγνωτε καὶ ὤφλησεν ὑμῖν μυρίας δραχμάς,
66 ὥστε τοῦτο μὲν ἱκανῶς ὑπὸ ὑμῶν ἁπάντων μεμαρτύρηται. γυναῖκας τοίνυν τῶν πολιτῶν τοιοῦτος ὢν μοιχεύειν καὶ διαφθείρειν ἐλευθέρας ἐπεχείρησε, καὶ ἐλήφθη μοιχός· καὶ τούτου θάνατος ἡ ζημία ἐστίν. Ὡς δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω, μάρτυρας κάλει.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.]

67 Ἦσαν τοίνυν οὗτοι, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, τέτταρες ἀδελφοί. τούτων εἷς μὲν ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἐν Σικελίᾳ παραφρυκτωρευόμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις ληφθεὶς ὑπὸ Λαμάχου ἀπετυμπανίσθη· ὁ δὲ ἕτερος εἰς Κόρινθον μὲν ἐντευθενὶ ἀνδράποδον ἐξήγαγεν, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ παιδίσκην ἀστῆς ἐξαγαγὼν ἁλίσκεται,

καὶ ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ δεδεμένος ἀπέθανε· τὸν δὲ 68
τρίτον Φαινιππίδης ἐνθάδε λωποδύτην ἀπήγαγε,
καὶ ὑμεῖς κρίναντες αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ καὶ
καταγνόντες αὐτοῦ θάνατον ἀποτυμπανίσαι παρέ-
δοτε. ὡς δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω, καὶ αὐτὸν οἶμαι ὁμολο-
γήσειν τοῦτον καὶ μάρτυρας παρεξόμεθα.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

Πῶς οὖν οὐχ ἅπασι προσήκει ὑμῖν τούτου κατα- 69
ψηφίζεσθαι; εἰ γὰρ τούτων ἕκαστος δι' ἓν ἁμάρ-
τημα θανάτου ἠξιώθη, ἤ που τοῦ γε πολλὰ ἐξη-
μαρτηκότος καὶ δημοσίᾳ εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἰδίᾳ εἰς
ἕκαστον ὑμῶν, ὧν ἑκάστου ἁμαρτήματος ἐν τοῖς
νόμοις θάνατος ἡ ζημία ἐστί, δεῖ ὑμᾶς σφόδρα
θάνατον αὐτοῦ καταψηφίσασθαι.

Λέξει δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, καὶ ἐξαπατῆσαι 70
ὑμᾶς πειράσεται, ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων Φρύνι-
χον ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ ἀντὶ τούτου φησὶν αὐτὸν Ἀθη-
ναῖον τὸν δῆμον ποιήσασθαι, ψευδόμενος, ὦ ἄνδρες
δικασταί· οὔτε γὰρ Φρύνιχον ἀπέκτεινεν, οὔτε
Ἀθηναῖον αὐτὸν ὁ δῆμος ἐποιήσατο. Φρυνίχῳ 71
γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, κοινῇ Θρασύβουλός τε ὁ
Καλυδώνιος καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ Μεγαρεὺς ἐπεβού-
λευσαν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπετυχέτην αὐτῷ βαδίζοντι, ὁ
μὲν Θρασύβουλος τύπτει τὸν Φρύνιχον καὶ κατα-
βάλλει πατάξας, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλόδωρος οὐχ ἥψατο·
ἅμα τούτῳ κραυγὴ γίνεται καὶ ᾤχοντο φεύγοντες.

Ἀγόρατος δὲ οὑτοσὶ οὔτε παρεκλήθη οὔτε παρεγένετο οὔτε οἶδε τοῦ πράγματος οὐδέν. ὡς δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω, αὐτὸ ὑμῖν τὸ ψήφισμα δηλώσει.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

72 Ὅτι μὲν οὐκ ἀπέκτεινε Φρύνιχον, ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ψηφίσματος δῆλον· οὐδαμοῦ γάρ ἐστιν Ἀγόρατον Ἀθηναῖον εἶναι ὥσπερ Θρασύβουλον καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρον· καίτοι εἴπερ ἀπέκτεινε Φρύνιχον, ἔδει αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ στήλῃ, ἵνα περ Θρασύβουλον καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρον, Ἀθηναῖον πεποιημένον .... τὰ μέντοι ὀνόματα διαπράττονται τὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν, δόντες ἀργύριον τῷ ῥήτορι, προσγραφῆναι εἰς τὴν στήλην ὡς εὐεργέτας ὄντας. καὶ ὡς ἀληθῆ λέγω, τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα ἐλέγξει.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

73 Οὕτω μέντοι οὗτος πολὺ ὑμῶν καταφρονεῖ, ὥστε οὐκ ὢν Ἀθηναῖος καὶ ἐδίκαζε καὶ ἐξεκλησίαζε καὶ γραφὰς τὰς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἐγράφετο, ἐπιγραφόμενος Ἀναγυράσιος εἶναι. ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἕτερον μέγα τεκμήριον ὡς οὐκ ἀπέκτεινε Φρύνιχον, δι' ὃ Ἀθηναῖός φησι γεγενῆσθαι. ὁ Φρύνιχος γὰρ οὗτος τοὺς τετρακοσίους κατέστησεν· ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐκεῖνος ἀπέθανεν, οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων ἔφυ-
74 γον. πότερον οὖν δοκοῦσιν ὑμῖν οἱ τριάκοντα καὶ ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα βουλεύουσα, οἳ αὐτοὶ

ἦσαν ἅπαντες τῶν τετρακοσίων τῶν φυγόντων, ἀφεῖναι ἂν λαβόντες τὸν Φρύνιχον ἀποκτείναντα, ἢ τιμωρήσασθαι ὑπὲρ Φρυνίχου καὶ τῆς φυγῆς ἧς αὐτοὶ ἔφυγον; ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι τιμωρεῖσθαι ἄν. εἰ μὲν οὖν μὴ ἀποκτείνας προσποιεῖται, ἀδικεῖ, ὡς 75
ἐγώ φημι· εἰ δὲ ἀμφισβητεῖς καὶ φῂς Φρύνιχον ἀποκτεῖναι, δῆλον ὅτι μείζω τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων κακὰ ποιήσας, τὴν ὑπὲρ Φρυνίχου αἰτίαν πρὸς τοὺς τριάκοντα ἀπελύσω· οὐδέποτε γὰρ πείσεις οὐδένα ἀνθρώπων ὡς Φρύνιχον ἀποκτείνας ἀφείθης ἂν ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα, εἰ μὴ μεγάλα τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἀνήκεστα κακὰ εἰργάσω. ἐὰν μὲν οὖν φάσκῃ Φρύνιχον ἀποκτεῖναι, τούτων 76
μέμνησθε, καὶ τοῦτον τιμωρεῖσθε ἀνθ' ὧν ἐποίησεν· ἐὰν δ' οὐ φάσκῃ, ἔρεσθε αὐτὸν δι' ὅ τι φησὶν Ἀθηναῖος ποιηθῆναι. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχῃ ἀποδεῖξαι, τιμωρεῖσθε αὐτὸν ὅτι καὶ ἐδίκαζε καὶ ἐξεκλησίαζε καὶ ἐσυκοφάντει πολλοὺς ὡς Ἀθηναῖος τοὔνομα ἐπιγραφόμενος.

Ἀκούω δ' αὐτὸν παρασκευάζεσθαι ἀπολογεῖσθαι 77
ὡς ἐπὶ Φυλήν τε ᾤχετο καὶ συγκατῆλθε ἀπὸ Φυλῆς, καὶ τοῦτο μέγιστον ἀγώνισμα εἶναι. ἐγένετο δὲ τοιοῦτον. ἦλθεν οὗτος ἐπὶ Φυλήν· καίτοι πῶς ἂν γένοιτο ἄνθρωπος μιαρώτερος, ὅστις εἰδὼς ὅτι εἰσί τινες ἐπὶ Φυλῇ τῶν ὑπὸ τούτου ἐκπεπτωκότων ἐτόλμησεν ἐλθεῖν ὡς τούτους; ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἶδον αὐ- 78
τὸν τάχιστα, συλλαβόντες ἄγουσιν ἄντικρυς ὡς ἀποκτενοῦντες, οὗπερ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπέσφαττον,

εἴ τινα λῃστὴν ἢ κακοῦργον συλλάβοιεν. στρατηγῶν δὲ Ἄνυτος [ἐπὶ Φυλὴν] οὐκ ἔφη χρῆναι ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς ταῦτα, λέγων ὅτι οὐχ οὕτω διακέοιντο, ὥστε τιμωρεῖσθαί τινας τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ἀλλὰ νῦν μὲν δεῖν αὐτοὺς ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν, εἰ δέ ποτε οἴκαδε κατέλθοιεν, τότε καὶ τιμωρήσοιντο τοὺς
79 ἀδικοῦντας. ταῦτα λέγων αἴτιος ἐγένετο τοῦ ἀποφυγεῖν τοῦτον ἐπὶ Φυλῇ· ἀνάγκη δὲ ἦν στρατηγοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀκροᾶσθαι, εἴπερ ἔμελλον σωθήσεσθαι. ἀλλ' ἕτερον· οὔτε γὰρ συσσιτήσας τούτῳ οὐδεὶς φανήσεται οὔτε σύσκηνος γενόμενος, οὔτε ὁ ταξίαρχος εἰς τὴν φυλὴν κατατάξας, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀλιτηρίῳ οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων αὐτῷ διελέγετο. Καί μοι κάλει τὸν ταξίαρχον.

ΜΑΡΤΥΣ.

80 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ αἱ διαλλαγαί πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐγένοντο καὶ ἔπεμψαν οἱ πολῖται ἐκ Πειραιῶς τὴν πομπὴν εἰς πόλιν, ἡγεῖτο μὲν Αἴσιμος τῶν πολιτῶν, οὗτος δὲ οὕτω τολμηρὸς καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐγένετο· συνηκολούθει γὰρ λαβὼν τὰ ὅπλα καὶ συνέπεμπε τὴν πομπὴν
81 μετὰ τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ. ἐπειδὴ δὲ πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις ἦσαν καὶ ἔθεντο τὰ ὅπλα, πρὶν εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, ὁ μὲν Αἴσιμος αἰσθάνεται καὶ προσελθὼν τήν τε ἀσπίδα αὐτοῦ λαβὼν ἔρριψε, καὶ ἀπιέναι ἐκέλευσεν ἐς κόρακας ἐκ τῶν πολιτῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἔφη δεῖν ἀνδροφόνον αὐτὸν ὄντα

συμπέμπειν τὴν πομπὴν τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ. τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ὑπὸ Αἰσίμου ἀπηλάθη. Ὡς δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, κάλει μοι τοὺς μάρτυρας.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

Τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, καὶ ἐπὶ 82
Φυλῇ καὶ ἐν Πειραιεῖ πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας διέκειτο· οὐδεὶς γὰρ αὐτῷ διελέγετο ὡς ἀνδροφόνῳ ὄντι, τοῦ τε μὴ ἀποθανεῖν Ἄνυτος ἐγένετο αὐτῷ αἴτιος. ἐὰν οὖν τῇ ἐπὶ Φυλὴν ὁδῷ ἀπολογίᾳ χρῆται, ὑπολαμβάνειν χρὴ εἰ Ἄνυτος αὐτῷ ἐγένετο αἴτιος μὴ ἀποθανεῖν ἑτοίμων ὄντων τιμωρεῖσθαι, καὶ ἔρριψεν αὐτοῦ Αἴσιμος τὴν ἀσπίδα καὶ οὐκ εἶα μετὰ τῶν πολιτῶν πέμπειν τὴν πομπήν, καὶ εἴ τις αὐτὸν ταξίαρχος εἰς τάξιν τινὰ κατέταξε.

Μήτε οὖν ταῦτα αὐτοῦ ἀποδέχεσθε, μήτε ἂν 83
λέγῃ ὅτι πολλῷ χρόνῳ ὕστερον τιμωρούμεθα. οὐ γὰρ οἶμαι οὐδεμίαν τῶν τοιούτων ἀδικημάτων προθεσμίαν εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι, εἴτ' εὐθὺς εἴτε χρόνῳ τις τιμωρεῖται, τοῦτον δεῖν ἀποδεικνύναι ὡς οὐ πεποίηκε περὶ ὧν ἐστιν ἡ αἰτία. οὗτος τοίνυν 84
τοῦτο ἀποφαινέτω, ἢ ὡς οὐκ ἀπέκτεινεν ἐκείνους ἢ ὡς δικαίως, κακόν τι ποιοῦντας τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων. εἰ δὲ πάλαι δέον τιμωρεῖσθαι ὕστερον ἡμεῖς τιμωρούμεθα, τὸν χρόνον κερδαίνει ὃν ἔζη οὐ προσῆκον αὐτῷ, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες ὑπὸ τούτου οὐδὲν ἧττον τεθνήκασιν.

85 Ἀκούω δ' αὐτὸν καὶ διισχυρίζεσθαι, ὅτι ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ τῇ ἀπαγωγῇ ἐπιγέγραπται· ὃ πάντων ἐγὼ οἶμαι εὐηθέστατον· ὡς εἰ μὲν τὸ ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ μὴ προσεγέγραπτο, ἔνοχος ὢν τῇ ἀπαγωγῇ· διότι δὲ τοῦτο προσγέγραπται, ῥᾳστώνην τινὰ οἴεται αὑτῷ εἶναι. τοῦτο δὲ οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ ἔοικεν ἢ ὁμολογεῖν ἀποκτεῖναι, μὴ ἐπ αὐτοφώρῳ δέ, καὶ περὶ τούτου διισχυρίζεσθαι, ὥσπερ, εἰ μὴ ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ μέν, ἀπέκτεινε δέ, τούτου ἕνεκα δέον αὐτὸν
86 σώζεσθαι. δοκοῦσι δ' ἔμοιγε οἱ ἔνδεκα οἱ παραδεξάμενοι τὴν ἀπαγωγὴν ταύτην, οὐκ οἰόμενοι Ἀγοράτῳ συμπράττειν ~~τότε καὶ διισχυριζόμενοι~~ τῷ οἰκείῳ ἰσχυριζόμενοι σφόδρα ὀρθῶς ποιῆσαι Διονύσιον, τὴν ἀπαγωγὴν ἀπάγειν ἀναγκάζοντες, προσγράψασθαι τότε ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ, ~~ἢ ὅπου ἂν ᾖ~~ ἢ πῶς σώσει ἀνεῖσι· πρῶτον μὲν ἐναντίον πεντακοσίων ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, εἶτα πάλιν ἐναντίον Ἀθηναίων ἁπάντων ἐν τῷ δήμῳ ἀπογράψας τινὰς
87 ἀποκτείνειε καὶ αἴτιος γένοιτο τοῦ θανάτου. οὐ γὰρ δήπου τοῦτο μόνον οἴεται ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ, ἐάν τις ξύλῳ ἢ μαχαίρᾳ πατάξας καταβάλῃ, ἐπεὶ ἔκ γε τοῦ σοῦ λόγου οὐδεὶς φανήσεται ἀποκτείνας τοὺς ἄνδρας οὓς σὺ ἀπέγραψας· οὔτε γὰρ ἐπάταξεν αὐτοὺς οὐδεὶς οὔτ' ἀπέσφαξεν, ἀλλ' ἀναγκασθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς σῆς ἀπογραφῆς ἀπέθανον. οὐκ οὖν ὁ αἴτιος τοῦ θανάτου, οὗτος ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ ἐστί; τίς οὖν ἄλλος αἴτιος ἢ σὺ ἀπογράψας; ὥστε πῶς οὐκ ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ σὺ εἶ ὁ ἀποκτείνας;

Πυνθάνομαι δ' αὐτὸν καὶ περὶ τῶν ὅρκων καὶ 88
περὶ τῶν συνθηκῶν μέλλειν λέγειν, ὡς παρὰ τοὺς
ὅρκους καὶ τὰς συνθήκας ἀγωνίζεται ἃς συνεθέ-
μεθα πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ἄστει οἱ ἐν [τῷ] Πειραιεῖ.
σχεδὸν μὲν οὖν τούτοις ἰσχυριζόμενος ὁμολογεῖ
ἀνδροφόνος εἶναι· ἐμποδὼν γοῦν ἢ ὅρκους ἢ συν-
θήκας ἢ χρόνον ἢ ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ τι ποιεῖται, αὐτῷ
δὲ τῷ πράγματι οὔ τι πιστεύει καλῶς ἀγωνιεῖσθαι.
ὑμῖν δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, οὐ προσήκει περὶ τού- 89
των ἀποδέχεσθαι· ἀλλ' ὡς οὐκ ἀπέγραψεν οὐδὲ
οἱ ἄνδρες τεθνᾶσι, περὶ τούτων κελεύετε αὐτὸν
ἀπολογεῖσθαι. ἔπειτα τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ τὰς συν-
θήκας οὐδὲν ἡγοῦμαι προσήκειν ἡμῖν πρὸς τοῦτον.
οἱ γὰρ ὅρκοι τοῖς ἐν ἄστει πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ
γεγένηνται. εἰ μὲν οὖν οὗτος μὲν ἐν ἄστει ἡμεῖς 90
δ' ἐν Πειραιεῖ ἦμεν, εἶχον ἄν τινα λόγον αὐτῷ αἱ
συνθῆκαι· νῦν δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἐν Πειραιεῖ ἦν καὶ
ἐγὼ καὶ Διονύσιος καὶ οὗτοι ἅπαντες οἱ τοῦτον
τιμωρούμενοι, ὥστε οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἐμποδὼν οὐ-
δέν· οὐδένα γὰρ ὅρκον οἱ ἐν Πειραιεῖ τοῖς ἐν Πει-
ραιεῖ ὤμοσαν.

Ἔκ παντὸς δὲ τρόπου ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ οὐχ ἑνὸς 91
θανάτου ἄξιος εἶναι, ὅστις φησὶ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ δή-
μου ...., τὸν δὲ δῆμον, ὃν αὐτός φησι πατέρα
αὑτοῦ εἶναι, φαίνεται κακώσας, καὶ ἀφεὶς καὶ προ-
δοὺς ἐξ ὧν ἐκεῖνος μείζων καὶ ἰσχυρότερος ἐγί-
γνετο. ὅστις οὖν τόν τε γόνῳ πατέρα τὸν αὑτοῦ
ἔτυπτε καὶ οὐδὲν παρεῖχε τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, τόν τε

ποιητὸν πατέρα ἀφείλετο ἃ ἦν ὑπάρχοντα ἐκείνῳ ἀγαθά, πῶς οὐ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κατὰ τὸν τῆς κακώσεως νόμον ἄξιός ἐστι θανάτῳ ζημιωθῆναι;

92 Προσήκει δ' ὑμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἅπασι τιμωρεῖν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὁμοίως ὥσπερ ἡμῶν ἐνὶ ἑκάστῳ. ἀποθνήσκοντες γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐπέσκηψαν καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι τιμωρεῖν ὑπὲρ σφῶν αὐτῶν Ἀγόρατον τουτονὶ ὡς φονέα ὄντα, καὶ κακῶς ποιεῖν καθ' ὅσον ἂν ἔμβραχυ ἕκαστος δύνηται. εἰ τοίνυν τι ἐκεῖνοι ἀγαθὸν τὴν πόλιν ἢ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ὑμέτερον φανεροί εἰσι πεποιηκότες, ἃ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑμεῖς ὁμολογεῖτε, ἀνάγκη ὑμᾶς ἐστι πάντας ἐκείνοις φίλους καὶ ἐπιτηδείους εἶναι, ὥστε οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἡμῖν ἢ καὶ ὑμῶν ἐνὶ
93 ἑκάστῳ ἐπέσκηψαν. οὔκουν οὔτε ὅσιον οὔτε νόμιμον ὑμῖν ἐστιν ἀνεῖναι Ἀγόρατον τουτονί. ὑμεῖς τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, νυνὶ δή, ἐπεὶ ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ, ἐν ᾧ ἐκεῖνοι ἀπέθνησκον, οὐχ οἷοί τε ἐκείνοις ἐπαρκέσαι γεγόνατε διὰ τὰ πράγματα τὰ περιεστηκότα, νυνί, ἐν ᾧ δύνασθε, τιμωρήσατε τὸν ἐκείνων φονέα. ἐνθυμεῖσθε δ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅπως μὴ πάντων ἔργον σχετλιώτατον ἐργάσησθε. εἰ γὰρ ἀποψηφιεῖσθε Ἀγοράτου τουτουί, οὐ μόνον τοῦτο διαπράττεσθε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκείνων τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὓς ὁμολογεῖτε ὑμῖν εὖνους εἶναι, τῇ
94 αὐτῇ ψήφῳ ταύτῃ θάνατον καταψηφίζεσθε· ἀπολύοντες γὰρ τὸν αἴτιον ὄντα ἐκείνοις τοῦ θανάτου οὐδὲν ἄλλο γινώσκετε ἢ ἐκείνους δικαίως ὑπὸ

τούτου τεθνηκέναι. καὶ οὕτως ἂν δεινότατα πάντων πάθοιεν, εἰ οἷς ἐπέσκηπτον ἐκεῖνοι ὡς φίλοις οὖσι τιμωρεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, οὗτοι ὁμόψηφοι κατ' ἐκείνων τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοῖς τριάκοντα γενήσονται. μηδαμῶς, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, πρὸς θεῶν Ὀλυμ- 95
πίων, μήτε τέχνῃ μήτε μηχανῇ μηδεμιᾷ θάνατον ἐκείνων τῶν ἀνδρῶν καταψηφίσησθε, οἳ πολλὰ κἀγαθὰ ὑμᾶς ποιήσαντες διὰ ταῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα καὶ Ἀγοράτου τουτουὶ ἀπέθανον. ἀναμνησθέντες οὖν ἁπάντων τῶν δεινῶν, καὶ τῶν κοινῶν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῶν ἰδίων, ὅσα ἑκάστῳ ἐγένοντο ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνοι οἱ ἄνδρες ἐτελεύτησαν, τιμωρήσατε τὸν αἴτιον τούτων. ἀποδέδεικται δ' ὑμῖν [ἅπαντα] καὶ ἐκ τῶν ψηφισμάτων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀπογραφῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων, Ἀγόρατος ὢν αὐτοῖς αἴτιος τοῦ θανάτου. ἔτι δὲ καὶ προσήκει ὑμῖν ἐναντία 96
τοῖς τριάκοντα ψηφίζεσθαι. ὧν μὲν τοίνυν ἐκεῖνοι θάνατον κατέγνωσαν, ὑμεῖς ἀποψηφίσασθε· ὧν δ' ἐκεῖνοι θάνατον οὐ κατέγνωσαν, ὑμεῖς καταγινώσκετε. οἱ τριάκοντα τοίνυν τῶν μὲν ἀνδρῶν τούτων, οἷς ἦσαν ὑμέτεροι φίλοι, θάνατον κατέγνωσαν, ὧν δεῖ ὑμᾶς ἀποψηφίζεσθαι· Ἀγοράτου δὲ ἀπεψηφίσαντο, διότι ἐδόκει προθύμος τούτους ἀπολλύναι· οὗ προσήκει καταψηφίζεσθαι. ἐὰν οὖν τὰ ἐναντία 97
τοῖς τριάκοντα ψηφίζησθε, πρῶτον μὲν οὐχ ὁμόψηφοι γίγνεσθε, ἔπειτα τοῖς ὑμετέροις αὐτῶν φίλοις τετιμωρηκότες ἔσεσθε, ἔπειτα τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις δόξετε δίκαια καὶ ὅσια ψηφίσασθαι.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

ORATION CONCERNING THE SACRED OLIVE-TREE.

AN Athenian land-owner, name unknown, is charged by a certain Nicomachus with having a number of years before extirpated one of the sacred olive-trees of the state. The trial is before the Areopagus. The charge, if sustained, will bring upon the offender the penalty of perpetual banishment and the confiscation of his entire property.

A glance at some facts derived from this oration and other ancient references to the subject reveals a peculiar phase of the Athenian state system, and explains the sternness of the Athenian code regarding this offence.

The olive-trees and groves of Attica formed then, as now, a marked feature in the landscape, and the oil was an important staple of commerce. As in the case of the grain trade, there was a rigid official supervision of the oil product and of the trees themselves. Provision was made by law against any diminution in the number of fruit-bearing trees; a land-owner was not allowed to cut down more than two a year from his estate, unless by special permission. Especial care was taken of the sacred trees dedicated to Athenê, the protecting goddess of the state. The culture of the olive had been, from the earliest times, closely connected with the

religious legends and institutions of the country. Grafts and shoots from the sacred olive-tree that stood on the Acropolis, and had sprung from the rock at the bidding of Athenê in her contest with Poseidon, had become fruit-bearing trees in various parts of the country; not only in the precincts of temples, but also on private estates. These were the so-called μορίαι, the sacred trees whose produce was forever devoted to maintaining the worship of the goddess, and to the support of her priests. The penalty for the extirpation of one of these, even an old stump or decaying trunk, has been already mentioned.

Crimes of impiety in general fell within the jurisdiction of the Areopagus, and all matters pertaining to the care of the sacred olives were especially committed to them. They appointed from their own number curators and inspectors (ἐπιμεληταί, γνώμονες), to whom was intrusted this department of the public business, including the revision of the inventories, the disposition of the produce to contractors, and other like duties.

Before this Council, doubtless seated on the same rock-hewn steps where Paul four centuries later addressed the debating philosophers of Athens, Nicomachus — of whom we only know that he was "a young man" — has brought the defendant, a wealthy citizen in advanced life, but without wife or children. An estate formerly belonging to Pisander, who had been prominent in the oligarchy of the Four Hundred, had come into his possession by purchase. It is supposed to have been situated in the deme Acharnæ, to the northward of the city, that being the deme to which Pisander had belonged. It is charged that the defendant has dug up the stump of a sacred olive that had formerly stood on it, — one of the blackened stumps, it may be, which the fires of foraging parties had left as traces of the recent war. The defendant proceeds to show that since the

purchase of the land from Anticles, in the spring of 403 B. C., it had been leased successively to Callistratus, Demetrius, Alcias, and Proteas; the lease of the latter having probably expired shortly before the date (397 – 6) of the alleged crime; and he proves by the testimony of several of these that there had been no olive-tree at all upon the estate.

Inasmuch as the prosecution is not supported by the testimony of any eye-witnesses, the remaining arguments of the defendant, comprising the larger part of the oration, might seem to be a work of supererogation. They seem, however, partly designed to expose the malicious and mercenary purpose of the accuser. Should four-fifths of the judges vote for acquittal, he would not only lose his case, but would be subjected to a fine.

The following is a brief analysis:

I. Exordium, §§ 1 – 3.

II. Statement of the case, §§ 4 – 8.

III. Refutation of the charge by positive evidence, §§ 9 – 11.

IV. Refutation of the charge on the ground of its *a priori* improbability and the absence of any assignable motive. Maintained from

(1) The reputation of the defendant, §§ 12 – 14.

(2) The inevitable publicity of the act charged, §§ 15 – 19; in connection with which a strong argument is made from the neglect of the accuser to produce witnesses, or lodge complaint at the time, §§ 20 – 23.

(3) The circumstances of the alleged *place*, §§ 24 – 26.

(4) The circumstances of the alleged *time*, § 27.

(5) The difficulty of escaping the known vigilance of the authorities, §§ 28, 29.

(6) The defendant's course of life hitherto as an upright and patriotic citizen, §§ 30 – 33.

V. Finally, the refusal of the accuser to take the testimony of the slaves when offered, in contrast with the course of the defendant in the case, affords a convincing argument that not only is the charge without foundation, but it is brought from mercenary and malicious motives, §§ 34 – 41.

VI. Peroration, recapitulating the leading points in the defence, §§ 42, 43.

VII.

ΑΡΕΟΠΑΓΙΤΙΚΟΣ

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΗΚΟΥ ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ.

ΠΡΟΤΕΡΟΝ μέν, ὦ βουλή, ἐνόμιζον ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ, ἡσυχίαν ἄγοντι, μήτε δίκας ἔχειν μήτε πράγματα· νυνὶ δὲ οὕτως ἀπροσδοκήτοις αἰτίαις καὶ πονηροῖς συκοφάνταις περιπέπτωκα, ὥστ' εἴ πως οἷόν τε, δοκεῖ μοι δεῖν καὶ τοὺς μὴ γεγονότας ἤδη δεδιέναι περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι· διὰ γὰρ τοὺς τοιούτους οἱ κίνδυνοι κοινοὶ γίγνονται καὶ τοῖς μηδὲν ἀδικοῦσι καὶ τοῖς πολλὰ ἡμαρτηκόσιν. οὕτω δ' ἄπορος ὁ ἀγών μοι καθέ- 2
στηκεν, ὥστε ἀπεγράφην τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐλαίαν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀφανίζειν, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐωνημένους τοὺς καρποὺς τῶν μοριῶν πυνθανόμενοι προσῆεσαν· ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐκ τούτου τοῦ τρόπου ἀδικοῦντά με οὐδὲν εὑρεῖν ἐδυνήθησαν, νυνί με σηκόν φασιν ἀφανίζειν, οἰόμενοι ἐμοὶ μὲν ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν ἀπορωτάτην εἶναι ἀπελέγξαι, αὐτοῖς δὲ ἐξεῖναι μᾶλλον ὅ τι ἂν βούλωνται λέγειν. καὶ δεῖ με, 3
περὶ ὧν οὗτος ἐπιβεβουλευκὼς ἧκει, ἅμ' ὑμῖν τοῖς

διαγνωσομένοις περὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἀκούσαντα, καὶ περὶ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ περὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἀγωνίσασθαι. ὅμως δὲ πειράσομαι ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑμᾶς διδάξαι.

4 Ἦν μὲν γὰρ τοῦτο Πεισάνδρου τὸ χωρίον, δημευθέντων τῶν ὄντων δ' ἐκείνου, Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ Μεγαρεὺς δωρεὰν παρὰ τοῦ δήμου λαβὼν τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον ἐγεώργει, ὀλίγῳ δὲ πρὸ τῶν τριάκοντα Ἀντικλῆς παρ' αὐτοῦ πριάμενος ἐξεμίσθωσεν· ἐγὼ δὲ παρ' Ἀντικλέους εἰρήνης οὔσης
5 ἐωνούμην. ἡγοῦμαι τοίνυν, ὦ βουλή, ἐμὸν ἔργον ἀποδεῖξαι ὡς, ἐπειδὴ τὸ χωρίον ἐκτησάμην, οὔτ' ἐλαία οὔτε σηκὸς ἐνῆν ἐν αὐτῷ. νομίζω γὰρ τοῦ μὲν προτέρου χρόνου, οὐδ' εἰ πάλαι ἐνῆσαν μυρίαι, οὐκ ἂν δικαίως ζημιοῦσθαι· εἰ γὰρ μὴ δι' ἡμᾶς εἰσιν ἠφανισμέναι, οὐδὲν προσήκει περὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἁμαρτημάτων ὡς ἀδικοῦντας κιν-
6 δυνεύειν. πάντες γὰρ ἐπίστασθε ὅτι ὁ πόλεμος καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν αἴτιος κακῶν γεγένηται, καὶ τὰ μὲν πόρρω ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐτέμνετο, τὰ δ' ἐγγὺς ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων διηρπάζετο· ὥστε πῶς ἂν δικαίως ὑπὲρ τῶν τῇ πόλει γεγενημένων συμφορῶν ἐγὼ νυνὶ δίκην διδοίην; ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δημευθὲν ἄπρακτον
7 ἦν πλεῖον ἢ τρία ἔτη. οὐ θαυμαστὸν δ' εἰ τότε τὰς μορίας ἐξέκοπτον, ἐν ᾧ οὐδὲ τὰ ἡμέτερ' αὐτῶν φυλάττειν ἠδυνάμεθα. ἐπίστασθε δέ, ὦ βουλή, ὅσοι μάλιστα τῶν τοιούτων ἐπιμελεῖσθε, πολλὰ ἐν

ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ δασέα ὄντα ἰδίαις καὶ μορίαις 7
ἐλαίαις, ὧν νῦν τὰ πολλὰ ἐκκέκοπται καὶ ἡ γῆ
ψιλὴ γεγένηται· καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ
καὶ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ κεκτημένων οὐκ ἀξιοῦτε παρ'
αὐτῶν, ἑτέρων ἐκκοψάντων, δίκην λαμβάνειν. καί- 8
τοι εἰ τοὺς διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου γεωργοῦντας
τῆς αἰτίας ἀφίετε, ἢ που χρὴ τούς γ' ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ
πριαμένους ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἀζημίους γενέσθαι.

Ἀλλὰ γάρ, ὦ βουλή, περὶ μὲν τῶν πρότερον 9
γεγενημένων πολλὰ ἔχων εἰπεῖν ἱκανὰ νομίζω τὰ
εἰρημένα· ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐγὼ παρέλαβον τὸ χωρίον,
πρὶν ἡμέρας πέντε γενέσθαι, ἀπεμίσθωσα Καλ-
λιστράτῳ, ἐπὶ Πυθοδώρου ἄρχοντος· ὃς δύο ἔτη 10
ἐγεώργησεν, οὔτε ἰδίαν ἐλαίαν οὔτε μορίαν οὔτε
σηκὸν παραλαβών. τρίτῳ δὲ ἔτει Δημήτριος οὑ-
τοσὶ εἰργάσατο ἐνιαυτόν· τῷ δὲ τετάρτῳ Ἀλκίᾳ
Ἀντισθένους ἀπελευθέρῳ ἐμίσθωσα, ὃς τέθνηκε
ταῦτα τρία ἔτη. ὁμοίως καὶ Πρωτέας ἐμισθώ-
σατο. Καί μοι δεῦρο ἴτε μάρτυρες.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ὁ χρόνος οὗτος ἐξήκει, αὐτὸς 11
γεωργῶ. φησὶ δὲ ὁ κατήγορος ἐπὶ Σουνιάδου
ἄρχοντος σηκὸν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἐκκεκόφθαι. ὑμῖν δὲ
μεμαρτυρήκασιν οἱ πρότερον ἐργαζόμενοι καὶ
πολλὰ ἔτη παρ' ἐμοῦ μεμισθωμένοι μὴ εἶναι ση-
κὸν ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ. καίτοι πῶς ἄν τις φανερωτέρως

ἐξελέγξειε ψευδόμενον τὸν κατήγορον; οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε, ἃ πρότερον μὴ ἦν, ταῦτα τὸν ὕστερον ἐργαζόμενον ἀφανίζειν.

12 Ἐγὼ τοίνυν, ὦ βουλή, ἐν μὲν τῷ τέως χρόνῳ, ὅσοι με φάσκοιεν δεινὸν εἶναι καὶ ἀκριβῆ καὶ οὐδὲν ἂν εἰκῇ καὶ ἀλογίστως ποιῆσαι, ἠγανάκτουν ἄν, αἱρούμενος μᾶλλον λέγεσθαι ὡς μοι προσῆκε· νῦν δὲ πάντας ἂν ὑμᾶς βουλοίμην περὶ ἐμοῦ ταύτην τὴν γνώμην ἔχειν, ἵνα ἠγῆσθέ με σκοπεῖν, εἴπερ τοιούτοις ἔργοις ἐπεχείρουν, καὶ ὅ τι κέρδος ἐγένετο τῷ ἀφανίσαντι καὶ ἥτις ζημία τῷ ποιήσαντι· καὶ τί ἂν λαθὼν διεπραξάμην καὶ τί
13 ἂν φανερὸς γενόμενος ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἔπασχον; πάντες γὰρ ἄνθρωποι τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐχ ὕβρεως ἀλλὰ κέρδους ἕνεκα ποιοῦσι· καὶ ὑμᾶς εἰκὸς οὕτω σκοπεῖν, καὶ τοὺς ἀντιδίκους ἐκ τούτων τὰς κατηγορίας ποιεῖσθαι, ἀποφαίνοντας ἥτις ὠφέλεια τοῖς ἀδι-
14 κήσασιν ἐγένετο. οὗτος μέντοι οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι ἀποδεῖξαι οὔθ' ὡς ὑπὸ πενίας ἠναγκάσθην τοιούτοις ἔργοις ἐπιχειρεῖν, οὔθ' ὡς τὸ χωρίον μοι διαφθείρεται τοῦ σηκοῦ ὄντος, οὔθ' ὡς ἀμπέλοις ἐμποδὼν ἦν, οὔθ' ὡς οἰκίας ἐγγύς, οὔθ' ὡς ἐγὼ ἄπειρος τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν κινδύνων. εἴ τι τούτων ἔπραττον. .... πολλὰς ἂν καὶ μεγάλας ἐμαυτῷ
15 ζημίας γενομένας ἀποφήναιμι· ὃς πρῶτον μὲν μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐξέκοπτον τὸν σηκόν, ὥσπερ οὐ πάντας λαθεῖν δέον, ἀλλὰ πάντας Ἀθηναίους εἰδέναι. καὶ εἰ μὲν αἰσχρὸν ἦν μόνον τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἴσως ἄν

τις τῶν παριόντων ἠμέλησε· νῦν δ' οὐ περὶ αἰσχύ-
νης ἀλλὰ τῆς μεγίστης ζημίας ἐκινδύνευον. πῶς 16
δ' οὐκ ἂν ἦν ἀθλιώτατος ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων, εἰ
τοὺς ἐμαυτοῦ θεράποντας μηκέτι δούλους ἔμελλον
ἕξειν ἀλλὰ δεσπότας τὸν λοιπὸν βίον, τοιοῦτον
ἔργον συνειδότας; ὥστε εἰ καὶ τὰ μέγιστα εἰς
ἐμὲ ἐξημάρτανον, οὐκ ἂν οἷόν τε ἦν δίκην με παρ'
αὐτῶν λαμβάνειν· εὖ γὰρ ἂν εἰδείην ὅτι ἐπ' ἐκεί-
νοις ἦν καὶ ἐμὲ τιμωρήσασθαι καὶ αὐτοῖς μηνύ-
σασιν ἐλευθέροις γενέσθαι. ἔτι τοίνυν εἰ τῶν 17
οἰκετῶν παρέστη μοι μηδὲν φροντίζειν, πῶς ἂν
ἐτόλμησα τοσούτων μεμισθωμένων καὶ ἁπάντων
συνειδότων ἀφανίσαι τὸν σηκὸν βραχέος μὲν κέρ-
δους ἕνεκα, προθεσμίας δὲ οὐδεμιᾶς οὔσης τῷ κιν-
δύνῳ, τοῖς εἰργασμένοις ἅπασι τὸ χωρίον ὁμοίως
προσῆκον εἶναι σῷον τὸν σηκόν, ἵν' εἴ τις αὐτοὺς
ᾐτιᾶτο, εἶχον ἀνενεγκεῖν ὅτῳ παρέδοσαν; νῦν δὲ
καὶ ἐμὲ ἀπολύσαντες φαίνονται, καὶ σφᾶς αὐτούς,
εἴπερ ψεύδονται, μετόχους τῆς αἰτίας καθιστάντες.
εἰ τοίνυν καὶ ταῦτα παρεσκευασάμην, πῶς ἂν οἷός 18
τ' ἦν πάντας πεῖσαι [τοὺς παριόντας, ἢ] τοὺς γεί-
τονας, οἳ οὐ μόνον ἀλλήλων ταῦτ' ἴσασιν ἃ πᾶσιν
ὁρᾷν ἔξεστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ ὧν ἀποκρυπτόμενοι
οἰόμεθα μηδένα εἰδέναι, καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων πυνθά-
νονται; ἐμοὶ τοίνυν τούτων οἱ μὲν φίλοι οἱ δὲ
διάφοροι περὶ τῶν ἐμῶν τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες. οὓς 19
ἐχρῆν τοῦτον παρασχέσθαι μάρτυρας, καὶ μὴ μό-
νον οὕτως τολμηρὰς κατηγορίας ποιεῖσθαι· ὃς

φησιν ὡς ἐγὼ μὲν παρειστήκειν, οἱ δ' οἰκέται ἐξέτεμνον τὰ πρέμνα, ἀναθέμενος δὲ ὁ βοηλάτης
20 ᾤχετο ἀπάγων τὰ ξύλα. καίτοι, ὦ Νικόμαχε, χρῆν σε τότε καὶ παρακαλεῖν τοὺς παριόντας μάρτυρας, καὶ φανερὸν ποιεῖν τὸ πρᾶγμα· καὶ ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἂν ἀπολογίαν ὑπέλιπες, αὐτὸς δέ, εἰ μέν σοι ἐχθρὸς ἦν, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἦσθα ἄν με τετιμωρημένος, εἰ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἕνεκα ἔπραττες, οὕτως ἐξελέγξας οὐκ ἂν ἐδόκεις εἶναι
21 συκοφάντης, εἰ δὲ κερδαίνειν ἐβούλου, τότ' ἂν πλεῖστον ἔλαβες· φανεροῦ γὰρ ὄντος τοῦ πράγματος οὐδεμίαν ἄλλην ἡγούμην ἂν εἶναί μοι σωτηρίαν ἢ σὲ πεῖσαι. τούτων τοίνυν οὐδὲν ποιήσας διὰ τοὺς σοὺς λόγους ἀξιοῖς με ἀπολέσθαι, καὶ κατηγορεῖς ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς ἐμῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν χρημάτων οὐδεὶς ἐθέλει σοι μαρτυρεῖν.
22 καίτοι εἰ φήσας μ' ἰδεῖν τὴν μορίαν ἀφανίζοντα τοὺς ἐννέα ἄρχοντας ἐπήγαγες ἢ ἄλλους τινὰς τῶν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου, οὐκ ἂν ἑτέρων ἔδει σοι μαρτύρων· οὕτω γὰρ ἄν σοι συνήδεσαν ἀληθῆ λέγοντι, οἵπερ καὶ διαγιγνώσκειν ἔμελλον περὶ τοῦ πρά-
23 γματος. δεινότατα οὖν πάσχω· ὃς εἰ μὲν παρέσχετο μάρτυρας, τούτοις ἂν ἠξίου πιστεύειν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐκ εἰσὶν αὐτῷ, ἐμοὶ καὶ ταύτην τὴν ζημίαν οἴεται χρῆναι γενέσθαι. καὶ τούτου μὲν οὐ θαυμάζω· οὐ γὰρ δήπου συκοφαντῶν ἅμα τοιούτων γε λόγων ἀπορήσει καὶ μαρτύρων· ὑμᾶς δ' οὐκ ἀξιῶ τὴν αὐτὴν τούτῳ γνώμην ἔχειν.

ἐπίστασθε γὰρ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ πολλὰς μορίας οὔσας 24
καὶ πυρκαϊὰς ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐμοῖς χωρίοις, ἃς,
εἴπερ ἐπεθύμουν, πολὺ ἦν ἀσφαλέστερον καὶ ἀφα-
νίσαι καὶ ἐκκόψαι καὶ ἐπεργάσασθαι, ὅσῳπερ
ἧττον τὸ ἀδίκημα πολλῶν οὐσῶν ἔμελλε δῆλον
ἔσεσθαι. νῦν δ' οὕτως αὐτὰς περὶ πολλοῦ ποιοῦ- 25
μαι ὥσπερ καὶ τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην οὐσίαν,
ἡγούμενος περὶ ἀμφοτέρων τούτων εἶναί μοι τὸν
κίνδυνον. αὐτοὺς τοίνυν ὑμᾶς τούτων μάρτυρας
παρέξομαι, ἐπιμελουμένους μὲν ἑκάστου μηνός,
γνώμονας δὲ πέμποντας καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν·
ὧν οὐδεὶς πώποτ' ἐζημίωσεν ὡς ἐργαζόμενον τὰ
περὶ τὰς μορίας χωρία. καίτοι οὐ δήπου τὰς μὲν 26
μικρὰς ζημίας οὕτω περὶ πολλοῦ ποιοῦμαι, τοὺς
δὲ περὶ τοῦ σώματος κινδύνους [οὕτω] περὶ οὐδε-
νὸς ἡγοῦμαι· καὶ τὰς μὲν πολλὰς ἐλαίας, εἰς ἃς
ἐξῆν μᾶλλον ἐξαμαρτάνειν, οὕτω θεραπεύων φαί-
νομαι, τὴν δὲ μορίαν, ἣν οὐχ οἷόν τ' ἦν λαθεῖν
ἐξορύξαντα, ὡς ἀφανίζων νυνὶ κρίνομαι; Πότε- 27
ρον δέ μοι κρεῖττον ἦν, ὦ βουλή, δημοκρατίας
οὔσης παρανομεῖν ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα; καὶ οὐ
λέγω ὡς τότε δυνάμενος ἢ ὡς νῦν διαβεβλημένος,
ἀλλ' ὡς τῷ βουλομένῳ τότε μᾶλλον ἐξῆν ἀδικεῖν
ἢ νυνί. ἐγὼ τοίνυν οὐδ' ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ οὔτε
τοιοῦτο οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν κακὸν ποιήσας φανήσο-
μαι. Πῶς δ' ἄν, εἰ μὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐμαυτῷ 28
κακονούστατος ἦν, ὑμῶν οὕτως ἐπιμελουμένων
ἐκ τούτου τὴν μορίαν ἀφανίζειν ἐπεχείρησα τοῦ

χωρίου, ἐν ᾧ δένδρον μὲν οὐδὲ ἕν ἐστι, μιᾶς δὲ ἐλαίας σηκός, ὡς οὗτός φησιν εἶναι, κυκλόθεν δὲ ὁδὸς περιέχει, ἀμφοτέρωθεν δὲ γείτονες περιοικοῦσιν, ἄερκτον δὲ καὶ πανταχόθεν κάτοπτόν ἐστιν; ὥστε τίς ἂν ἀπετόλμησε, τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων,
29 ἐπιχειρῆσαι τοιούτῳ πράγματι; Δεινὸν δέ μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ὑμᾶς μέν, οἷς ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον προστέτακται τῶν μοριῶν ἐλαιῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, μήθ' ὡς ἐπεργαζόμενον πώποτε ζημιῶσαι μήθ' ὡς ἀφανίσαντα εἰς κίνδυνον καταστῆσαι, τοῦτον δ', ὃς οὔτε γεωργῶν ἐγγὺς τυγχάνει οὔτ' ἐπιμελητὴς ᾑρημένος οὔθ' ἡλικίαν ἔχων εἰδέναι περὶ τῶν τοιούτων, ἀπογράψαι με μορίαν ἀφανίζειν.

30 Ἐγὼ τοίνυν δέομαι ὑμῶν μὴ τοὺς τοιούτους λόγους πιστοτέρους ἡγήσασθαι τῶν ἔργων, μηδὲ περὶ ὧν αὐτοὶ σύνιστε, ταῦτ' ἀνασχέσθαι τῶν ἐμῶν ἐχθρῶν λεγόντων, ἐνθυμουμένους καὶ ἐκ τῶν
31 εἰρημένων καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης πολιτείας. ἐγὼ γὰρ τὰ ἐμοὶ προστεταγμένα ἅπαντα προθυμότερον πεποίηκα, ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἠναγκαζόμην, καὶ τριηραρχῶν καὶ εἰσφορὰς εἰσφέρων καὶ χορηγῶν καὶ τἆλλα λειτουργῶν οὐδενὸς ἧττον πολυτελῶς τῶν
32 πολιτῶν. καίτοι ταῦτα μὲν μετρίως ποιῶν ἀλλὰ μὴ προθύμως οὔτ' ἂν περὶ φυγῆς οὔτ' ἂν περὶ τῆς ἄλλης οὐσίας ἠγωνιζόμην, πλείω δ' ἂν ἐκεκτήμην, οὐδὲν ἀδικῶν οὐδ' ἐπικίνδυνον ἐμαυτῷ καταστήσας τὸν βίον· ταῦτα δὲ πράξας, ἃ οὗτός μου

κατηγορεῖ, ἐκέρδαινον μὲν οὐδέν, ἐμαυτὸν δ' εἰς κίνδυνον καθίστην. καίτοι πάντες ἂν ὁμολογήσαιτε δικαιότερον εἶναι τοῖς μεγάλοις χρῆσθαι τεκμηρίοις περὶ τῶν μεγάλων, καὶ πιστότερα ἡγεῖσθαι περὶ ὧν ἅπασα ἡ πόλις μαρτυρεῖ, μᾶλλον ἢ περὶ ὧν μόνος οὗτος κατηγορεῖ. 33

Ἔτι τοίνυν, ὦ βουλή, ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων σκέψασθε. μάρτυρας γὰρ ἔχων αὐτῷ προσῆλθον, λέγων ὅτι μοι πάντες εἰσὶν οἱ θεράποντες, οὓς ἐκεκτήμην ἐπειδὴ παρέλαβον τὸ χωρίον, καὶ ἕτοιμός εἰμι, εἴ τινα βούλοιτο, παραδοῦναι βασανίζειν, ἡγούμενος οὕτως ἂν τὸν ἔλεγχον ἰσχυρότερον γενέσθαι τῶν τούτου λόγων καὶ τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἐμῶν. οὗτος δ' οὐκ ἤθελεν, οὐδὲν φάσκων πιστὸν εἶναι τοῖς θεράπουσιν. ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ δεινὸν εἶναι, εἰ περὶ αὑτῶν μὲν οἱ βασανιζόμενοι κατηγοροῦσιν, εὖ εἰδότες ὅτι ἀποθανοῦνται, περὶ δὲ τῶν δεσποτῶν, οἷς πεφύκασι κακονούστατοι, μᾶλλον ἂν εἵλοντο ἀνέχεσθαι βασανιζόμενοι ἢ κατειπόντες ἀπηλλάχθαι τῶν παρόντων κακῶν. καὶ μὲν δή, ὦ βουλή, φανερὸν οἶμαι εἶναι ὅτι, εἰ Νικομάχου ἐξαιτοῦντος τοὺς ἀνθρώπους μὴ παρεδίδουν, ἐδόκουν ἂν ἐμαυτῷ ξυνειδέναι· ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐμοῦ παραδιδόντος οὗτος παραλαβεῖν οὐκ ἤθελε, δίκαιον καὶ περὶ τούτου τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην σχεῖν, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ κινδύνου οὐκ ἴσου ἀμφοτέροις ὄντος. περὶ ἐμοῦ μὲν γὰρ εἴ τι ἔλεγον, οὐδ' ἂν ἀπολογήσασθαί μοι ἐξεγένετο· τούτῳ δ' εἰ μὴ ὡμολόγουν ἃ οὗτος 34 35 36 37

ἐβούλετο, οὐδεμιᾷ ζημίᾳ ἔνοχος ἦν. ὥστε πολὺ μᾶλλον τοῦτον παραλαμβάνειν ἐχρῆν ἢ ἐμὲ παραδοῦναι προσῆκεν. ἐγὼ τοίνυν εἰς τοῦτο προθυμίας ἀφικόμην, ἡγούμενος μετ' ἐμοῦ εἶναι καὶ ἐκ βασάνων καὶ ἐκ μαρτύρων καὶ ἐκ τεκμηρίων ὑμᾶς περὶ
38 τοῦ πράγματος τἀληθῆ πυθέσθαι. ἐνθυμεῖσθαι δὲ χρή, ὦ βουλή, ποτέροις χρὴ πιστεύειν μᾶλλον, οἷς πολλοὶ μεμαρτυρήκασιν ἢ ᾧ μηδεὶς τετόλμηκε, καὶ πότερον εἰκὸς μᾶλλον τοῦτον ἀκινδύνως ψεύδεσθαι ἢ μετὰ τοσούτου κινδύνου τοιοῦτον ἐμὲ ἔργον ἐργάσασθαι, καὶ πότερον οἴεσθε αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως βοηθεῖν ἢ συκοφαντοῦντα αἰτιάσα-
39 σθαι; ἐγὼ μὲν [ἐγνωκέναι] ὑμᾶς ἡγοῦμαι ὅτι Νικόμαχος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν πεισθεὶς τῶν ἐμῶν τοῦτον τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀγωνίζεται, οὐχ ὡς ἀδικοῦντα ἐλπίζων ἀποδείξειν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀργύριον παρ' ἐμοῦ λήψεσθαι προσδοκῶν. ὅσῳ γὰρ οἱ τοιοῦτοί εἰσιν ἐπαιτιώτατοι καὶ ἀπορώτατοι τῶν κινδύνων, τοσού-
40 τῳ πάντες αὐτοὺς φεύγουσι μάλιστα. ἐγὼ δέ, ὦ βουλή, οὐκ ἠξίουν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδήπερ με ἠτιάσατο, παρέσχον ἐμαυτὸν ὅ τι βούλεσθε χρῆσθαι, καὶ τούτου ἕνεκα τοῦ κινδύνου οὐδενὶ ἐγὼ τῶν ἐχθρῶν διηλλάγην, οἳ ἐμὲ ἴδιον κακῶς λέγουσιν ἢ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπαινοῦσι, καὶ φανερῶς μὲν οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἐμὲ αὐτῶν ἐπεχείρησε ποιῆσαι κακὸν οὐδέν, τοιούτους δὲ ἐπιπέμπουσί μοι, οἷς ὑμεῖς οὐκ ἂν δί-
41 καιως πιστεύοιτε. πάντων γὰρ ἀθλιώτατος ἂν γενοίμην, εἰ φυγὰς ἀδίκως καταστήσομαι, ἅπαις

μὲν ὢν καὶ μόνος, ἐρήμου δὲ τοῦ οἴκου γενομένου, μητρὸς δὲ πάντων ἐνδεοῦς, πατρίδος δὲ τοιαύτης ἐπ᾽ αἰσχίσταις στερηθεὶς αἰτίαις, πολλὰς μὲν ναυμαχίας ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς νεναυμαχηκώς, πολλὰς δὲ μάχας μεμαχημένος, κόσμιον δ᾽ ἐμαυτὸν καὶ ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ καὶ ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ παρασχών.

Ἀλλὰ γάρ, ὦ βουλή, ταῦτα μὲν ἐνθάδε οὐκ οἶδ᾽ 42
ὅ τι δεῖ λέγειν· ἀπέδειξα δ᾽ ὑμῖν ὡς οὐκ ἐνῆν σηκὸς ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ, καὶ μάρτυρας παρεσχόμην καὶ τεκμήρια. ἃ χρὴ μεμνημένους διαγιγνώσκειν περὶ τοῦ πράγματος, καὶ ἀξιοῦν παρὰ τούτου πυθέσθαι ὅτου ἕνεκα, ἐξὸν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοφώρῳ ἐλέγξαι, τοσούτῳ χρόνῳ ὕστερον εἰς τοσοῦτόν με κατέστησεν ἀγῶνα, καὶ μάρτυρα οὐδένα παρασχόμενος ἐκ τῶν λόγων 43
ζητεῖ πιστὸς γενέσθαι, ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἔργοις ἀδικοῦντα ἀποδεῖξαι, καὶ ἐμοῦ ἅπαντας διδόντος τοὺς θεράποντας, οὓς φησι παραγενέσθαι, παραλαβεῖν οὐκ ἤθελεν.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

ORATION AGAINST THE GRAIN-DEALERS.

"YOU are doubtless aware that we of all people consume the most imported grain." This remark of Demosthenes, in the Oration *Against Leptines*, suggests a characteristic feature of the Athenian political economy. The territory of Attica embraced about 900 square miles. The soil was better suited to the fig and the olive than to wheat, and the product of breadstuffs fell far short of the wants of its population, — about half a million, as it is estimated, in the time of Lysias.

In the following speech a member of the Senate of Five Hundred, induced by circumstances occurring in one of their sessions, which he clearly and satisfactorily explains, appears against certain merchants, — who are perhaps in partnership as a firm or company, — and prosecutes them for violation of the existing grain-laws. The grain-trade, both wholesale and retail, was jealously watched by the government in order to prevent extortion on the part of dealers, and to guard against seasons of scarcity arising from unchecked speculation. Rigorous laws regulated the traffic, and special officers were appointed to see to their execution. Besides the ἀγορανόμοι, *market-masters*, charged with the general supervision of the markets, there were the σιτοφύλακες, *grain-inspectors*, intrusted

with the oversight of the grain-trade alone. According to Bœckh (*Public Economy of the Athenians*, p. 116) there were fifteen of the latter, five of them being stationed in the Piræus.

The importers were called ἔμποροι, the retail-dealers σιτοπῶλαι, or contemptuously, κάπηλοι, *hucksters*. A large majority both of the wholesale and retail dealers appear, as in the present instance, to have been metics. Of the statutes then in force, one, as appears from the oration, provided that no σιτοπώλης should buy more than fifty μέδιμνοι (nearly seventy-five bushels) at a time. Another statute restricted the dealer's profit to one obol on the medimnus. The penalty was death.

Of course such legislation was as futile as it was unjust and unwise. The severest penalties failed to check speculation. Gain could no more be controlled by law in ancient Athens, the great wheat-market of the Eastern Mediterranean, than in modern Chicago the great wheat-market of the Western Continent. The Athenian courts, accordingly, were constantly occupied with prosecutions of the grain-dealers. Often, no doubt, the charges brought against them were false. They were particularly liable to be preyed upon by the "sycophants," as they were styled, — a class of men who became informers from base and mercenary motives; often they were instigated by personal enmity, oftener still by the hope that they would be privately bribed to withdraw the complaint; in case the prosecution succeeded, they had in prospect a share of the fees.

This is one of the judicial processes technically called εἰσαγγελία. After a preliminary investigation before the Senate, the case was brought before a Dicastery, or court of Heliasts. The date of the oration is unknown; judging from § 14, it belongs after 387 B. C. In arrangement and style it is one of the best extant productions of Lysias. It is also one of the shortest. If delivered as written, it could scarcely have occupied more than twenty minutes, exclusive of the intervals spent in the examination of witnesses.

XXII.

ΚΑΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΣΙΤΟΠΩΛΩΝ.

Πολλοί μοι προσεληλύθασιν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, θαυμάζοντες ὅτι ἐγὼ τῶν σιτοπωλῶν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ κατηγόρουν, καὶ λέγοντες ὅτι ὑμεῖς, εἰ ὡς μάλιστα αὐτοὺς ἀδικεῖν ἡγεῖσθε, οὐδὲν ἧττον καὶ τοὺς περὶ τούτων ποιουμένους λόγους συκοφαντεῖν νομίζετε. ὅθεν οὖν ἠνάγκασμαι κατηγορεῖν αὐτῶν, περὶ τούτων πρῶτον εἰπεῖν βούλομαι.

2 Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οἱ πρυτάνεις ἀπέδοσαν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν περὶ αὐτῶν, οὕτως ὠργίσθησαν αὐτοῖς, ὥστε ἔλεγόν τινες τῶν ῥητόρων ὡς ἀκρίτους αὐτοὺς χρὴ τοῖς ἕνδεκα παραδοῦναι θανάτῳ ζημιῶσαι. ἡγούμενος δὲ ἐγὼ δεινὸν εἶναι τοιαῦτα ἐθίζεσθαι ποιεῖν τὴν βουλήν, ἀναστὰς εἶπον ὅτι μοι δοκοίη κρίνειν τοὺς σιτοπώλας κατὰ τὸν νόμον, νομίζων, εἰ μέν εἰσιν ἄξια θανάτου εἰργασμένοι, ὑμᾶς οὐδὲν ἧττον ἡμῶν γνώσεσθαι τὰ δίκαια, εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦσιν, οὐ δεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀκρί-

3 τους ἀπολωλέναι. πεισθείσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς

ταῦτα, διαβάλλειν ἐπεχείρουν με λέγοντες ὡς ἐγὼ σωτηρίας ἕνεκα τῆς τῶν σιτοπωλῶν τοὺς λόγους τούτους ἐποιούμην. πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὴν βουλήν, ὅτ' ἦν αὐτοῖς ἡ κρίσις, ἔργῳ ἀπελογησάμην· τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων ἡσυχίαν ἀγόντων ἀναστὰς αὐτῶν κατηγόρουν, καὶ πᾶσι φανερὸν ἐποίησα ὅτι οὐχ ὑπὲρ τούτων ἔλεγον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς κειμένοις ἐβοήθουν. ἠρξάμην μὲν οὖν τούτων ἕνεκα, δεδιὼς 4 τὰς αἰτίας· αἰσχρὸν δ' ἡγοῦμαι πρότερον παύσασθαι, πρὶν ἂν ὑμεῖς περὶ αὐτῶν ὅ τι ἂν βούλησθε ψηφίσησθε.

Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀνάβηθι καὶ εἰπὲ σὺ ἐμοί, μέ- 5 τοικος εἶ; Ναί. Μετοικεῖς δὲ πότερον ὡς πεισόμενος τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς τῆς πόλεως, ἢ ὡς ποιήσων ὅ τι ἂν βούλῃ; Ὡς πεισόμενος. Ἄλλο τι οὖν ἀξιοῖς ἢ ἀποθανεῖν, εἴ τι πεποίηκας παρὰ τοὺς νόμους, ἐφ' οἷς θάνατος ἡ ζημία; Ἔγωγε. Ἀπόκριναί δή μοι, εἰ ὁμολογεῖς πλείω σῖτον συμπρίασθαι πεντήκοντα φορμῶν, ὧν ὁ νόμος ἐξεῖναι κελεύει. Ἐγὼ τῶν ἀρχόντων κελευόντων συνεπριάμην.

Ἂν μὲν τοίνυν ἀποδείξῃ, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ὡς 6 ἔστι νόμος ὃς κελεύει τοὺς σιτοπώλας συννωνεῖσθαι τὸν σῖτον, ἂν οἱ ἄρχοντες κελεύωσιν, ἀποψηφίσασθε· εἰ δὲ μή, δίκαιον ὑμᾶς καταψηφίσασθαι. ἡμεῖς γὰρ ὑμῖν παρεσχόμεθα τὸν νόμον, ὃς ἀπαγορεύει μηδένα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει πλείω σῖτον πεντήκοντα φορμῶν συννωνεῖσθαι.

7 Χρῆν μὲν τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἱκανὴν εἶναι ταύτην τὴν κατηγορίαν, ἐπειδὴ οὗτος μὲν ὁμολογεῖ συμπρίασθαι, ὁ δὲ νόμος ἀπαγορεύων φαίνεται, ὑμεῖς δὲ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ὀμωμόκατε ψηφιεῖσθαι· ὅμως δ' ἵνα πεισθῆτε ὅτι καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων ψεύδονται, ἀνάγκη καὶ μακρότερον
8 εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὗτοι τὴν αἰτίαν εἰς ἐκείνους ἀνέφερον, παρακαλέσαντες τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἠρωτῶμεν. καὶ οἱ μὲν τέσσαρες οὐδὲν ἔφασαν εἰδέναι τοῦ πράγματος, Ἄνυτος δ' ἔλεγεν ὡς τοῦ προτέρου χειμῶνος, ἐπειδὴ τίμιος ἦν ὁ σῖτος, τούτων ὑπερβαλλόντων ἀλλήλους καὶ πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς μαχομένων συμβουλεύσειεν αὐτοῖς παύσασθαι φιλονεικοῦσιν, ἡγούμενος συμφέρειν ὑμῖν τοῖς παρὰ τούτων ὠνουμένοις ὡς ἀξιώτατον τούτους πρίασθαι· δεῖν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὀβολῷ μόνον
9 πωλεῖν τιμιώτερον. ὡς τοίνυν οὐ συμπριαμένους καταθέσθαι ἐκέλευεν αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀλλήλοις ἀντωνεῖσθαι συνεβούλευεν, αὐτὸν ὑμῖν Ἄνυτον μάρτυρα παρέξομαι, καὶ ὡς οὗτος μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας βουλῆς τούτους εἶπε τοὺς λόγους, οὗτοι δ' ἐπὶ τῆσδε συνωνούμενοι φαίνονται.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ.

10 Ὅτι μὲν τοίνυν οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων κελευσθέντες συνεπρίαντο τὸν σῖτον, ἀκηκόατε· ἡγοῦμαι δ', ἂν ὡς μάλιστα περὶ τούτων ἀληθῆ

λέγωσιν, οὐχ ὑπὲρ αὑτῶν αὐτοὺς ἀπολογήσεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τούτων κατηγορήσειν· περὶ γὰρ ὧν εἰσι νόμοι διαρρήδην γεγραμμένοι, πῶς οὐ χρὴ διδόναι δίκην καὶ τοὺς μὴ πειθομένους καὶ τοὺς κελεύοντας τούτοις τἀναντία πράττειν;

Ἀλλὰ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, οἶομαι αὐτοὺς 11 ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦτον τὸν λόγον οὐκ ἐλεύσεσθαι· ἴσως δ' ἐροῦσιν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, ὡς ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ τῆς πόλεως συνεωνοῦντο τὸν σῖτον, ἵν' ὡς ἀξιώτατον ἡμῖν πωλοῖεν. μέγιστον δ' ὑμῖν ἐρῶ καὶ περιφανέστατον τεκμήριον ὅτι ψεύδονται. ἐχρῆν 12 γὰρ αὐτούς, εἴπερ ὑμῶν ἕνεκα ἔπραττον ταῦτα, φαίνεσθαι τῆς αὐτῆς τιμῆς πολλὰς ἡμέρας πωλοῦντας, ἕως ὁ συνεωνημένος αὐτοὺς ἐπέλιπε· νυνὶ δ' ἐνίοτε τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἐπώλουν δραχμῇ τιμιώτερον, ὥσπερ κατὰ μέδιμνον συνωνούμενοι. καὶ τούτων ὑμῖν μάρτυρας παρέξομαι.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

Δεινὸν δέ μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, εἰ ὅταν μὲν εἰσφορὰν 13 εἰσενεγκεῖν δέῃ, ἣν πάντες εἴσεσθαι μέλλουσιν, οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν, ἀλλὰ πενίαν προφασίζονται, ἐφ' οἷς δὲ θάνατός ἐστιν ἡ ζημία καὶ λαθεῖν αὐτοῖς συνέφερε, ταῦτα ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ φασὶ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ παρανομῆσαι. καίτοι πάντες ἐπίστασθε ὅτι τούτοις ἥκιστα προσήκει τοιούτους ποιεῖσθαι λόγους. τἀναντία γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμφέρει·

τότε γὰρ πλεῖστα κερδαίνουσιν, ὅταν κακοῦ τινος ἀπαγγελθέντος τῇ πόλει τίμιον τὸν σῖτον πωλῶ-
14 σιν. οὕτω δ' ἄσμενοι τὰς συμφορὰς τὰς ὑμετέρας ὁρῶσιν, ὥστε τὰς μὲν πρότεροι τῶν ἄλλων πυνθάνονται, τὰς δ' αὐτοὶ λογοποιοῦσιν, ἢ τὰς ναῦς διεφθάρθαι τὰς ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ, ἢ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐκπλεούσας συνειλῆφθαι, ἢ τὰ ἐμπόρια κεκλεῖσθαι, ἢ τὰς σπονδὰς μέλλειν ἀπορρηθήσε-
15 σθαι, καὶ εἰς τοῦτ' ἔχθρας ἐληλύθασιν, ὥστ' ἐν τούτοις τοῖς καιροῖς ἐπιβουλεύουσιν ἡμῖν, ἐν οἷσπερ οἱ πολέμιοι. ὅταν γὰρ μάλιστα σίτου τυγχάνητε δεόμενοι, ἀναρπάζουσιν οὗτοι καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλουσι πωλεῖν, ἵνα μὴ περὶ τῆς τιμῆς διαφερώμεθα, ἀλλ' ἀγαπῶμεν ἂν ὁποσουτινοσοῦν πριάμενοι παρ' αὐτῶν ἀπέλθωμεν· ὥστ' ἐνίοτε εἰρήνης
16 οὔσης ὑπὸ τούτων πολιορκούμεθα. οὕτω δὲ πάλαι περὶ τῆς τούτων πανουργίας καὶ κακονοίας ἡ πόλις ἔγνωκεν, ὥστ' ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὠνίοις ἅπασι τοὺς ἀγορανόμους φύλακας κατεστήσατε, ἐπὶ δὲ ταύτῃ μόνῃ τῇ τέχνῃ χωρὶς σιτοφύλακας ἀποκληροῦτε· καὶ πολλάκις ἤδη παρ' ἐκείνων πολιτῶν ὄντων δίκην τὴν μεγίστην ἐλάβετε, ὅτι οὐχ οἷοί τ' ἦσαν τῆς τούτων πονηρίας ἐπικρατῆσαι. καίτοι τί χρὴ αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας ὑφ' ὑμῶν πάσχειν, ὁπότε καὶ τοὺς οὐ δυναμένους φυλάττειν ἀποκτείνετε;

17 Ἐνθυμεῖσθαι δὲ χρὴ ὅτι ἀδύνατον ὑμῖν ἐστιν ἀποψηφίσασθαι. εἰ γὰρ ἀπογνώσεσθε ὁμολογούντων

αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐμπόρους συνίστασθαι, δόξεθ' ὑμεῖς ἐπιβουλεύειν τοῖς εἰσπλέουσιν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλην τινὰ ἀπολογίαν ἐποιοῦντο, οὐδεὶς ἂν εἶχε τοῖς ἀποψηφισαμένοις ἐπιτιμᾶν· ἐφ' ὑμῖν γὰρ ὁποτέροις βούλεσθε πιστεύειν· νῦν δὲ πῶς οὐ δεινὰ ἂν δόξαιτε ποιεῖν, εἰ τοὺς ὁμολογοῦντας παρανομεῖν ἀζημίους ἀφήσετε; ἀναμνήσθητε δέ, 18
ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ὅτι πολλῶν ἤδη ἐχόντων ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν [λαμβάνειν] καὶ μάρτυρας παρεχομένων θάνατον κατέγνωτε, πιστοτέρους ἡγησάμενοι τοὺς τῶν κατηγόρων λόγους. καίτοι πῶς ἂν οὐ θαυμαστὸν εἴη, εἰ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἁμαρτημάτων δικάζοντες μᾶλλον ἐπεθυμεῖτε παρὰ τῶν ἀρνουμένων δίκην λαμβάνειν; Καὶ μὲν δή, ὦ ἄν- 19
δρες δικασταί, πᾶσιν ἡγοῦμαι φανερὸν εἶναι ὅτι οἱ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀγῶνες κοινότατοι τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει, ὥστε πεύσονται ἥντινα γνώμην περὶ αὐτῶν ἔχετε, ἡγούμενοι, ἂν μὲν θάνατον αὐτῶν καταγνῶτε, κοσμιωτέρους ἔσεσθαι τοὺς λοιπούς· ἂν δ' ἀζημίους ἀφῆτε, πολλὴν ἄδειαν αὐτοῖς ἐψηφισμένοι ἔσεσθε ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἂν βούλωνται. χρὴ δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, μὴ μόνον 20
τῶν παρεληλυθότων ἕνεκα αὐτοὺς κολάζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παραδείγματος ἕνεκα τῶν μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι· οὕτω γὰρ ἔσονται μόγις ἀνεκτοί. ἐνθυμεῖσθε δὲ ὅτι ἐκ ταύτης τῆς τέχνης πλεῖστοι περὶ τοῦ σώματός εἰσιν ἠγωνισμένοι· καὶ οὕτω μεγάλα ἐξ αὐτῆς

ὠφελοῦνται, ὥστε μᾶλλον αἱροῦνται καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς κινδυνεύειν ἢ παύεσθαι
21 παρ' ὑμῶν ἀδίκως κερδαίνοντες. καὶ μὲν δὴ οὐδ' ἂν ἀντιβολῶσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ ἱκετεύωσι, δικαίως ἂν αὐτοὺς ἐλεήσαιτε, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον τῶν τε πολιτῶν οἳ διὰ τὴν τούτων πονηρίαν ἀπέθνησκον, καὶ τοὺς ἐμπόρους ἐφ' οὓς οὗτοι συνέστησαν· οἷς ὑμεῖς χαριεῖσθε καὶ προθυμοτέρους ποιήσετε, δίκην παρ' αὐτῶν λαμβάνοντες. εἰ δὲ μή, τίν' αὐτοὺς οἴεσθε γνώμην ἕξειν, ἐπειδὰν πύθωνται ὅτι τῶν καπήλων, οἳ τοῖς εἰσπλέουσιν ὡμολόγησαν ἐπιβουλεύειν, ἀπεψηφίσασθε;

22 Οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι δεῖ πλείω λέγειν· περὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀδικούντων, ὅτε δικάζονται, δεῖ παρὰ τῶν κατηγόρων πυθέσθαι, τὴν δὲ τούτων πονηρίαν ἅπαντες ἐπίστασθε. ἂν οὖν τούτων καταψηφίσησθε, τά τε δίκαια ποιήσετε καὶ ἀξιώτερον τὸν σῖτον ὠνήσεσθε· εἰ δὲ μή, τιμιώτερον.

INTRODUCTION

TO

THE FUNERAL ORATION.

"IT was appointed by law in Athens, that the obsequies of the citizens who fell in battle should be performed at the public expense, and in the most honorable manner. Their bones were carefully gathered up from the funeral pyre where their bodies were consumed, and brought home to the city. There, for three days before the interment, they lay in state beneath tents of honor, to receive the votive offerings of friends and relatives,—flowers, weapons, precious ornaments, painted vases (wonders of art, which after two thousand years adorn the museums of modern Europe), — the last tribute of surviving affection. Ten coffins of funereal cypress received the honorable deposit, one for each of the tribes of the city; and an eleventh in memory of the unrecognized, but not therefore unhonored, dead, and of those whose remains could not be recovered. On the fourth day the mournful procession was formed: mothers, wives, sisters, daughters, led the way, and to them it was permitted by the simplicity of ancient manners to utter aloud their lamentations for the beloved and the lost; the male relatives and friends of the deceased followed; citizens and strangers closed the train. Thus marshalled, they moved to the place of interment in that famous Ceramicus, the most beautiful suburb of Athens, which had

been adorned by Cimon, the son of Miltiades, with walks and fountains and columns, — whose groves were filled with altars, shrines, and temples, — whose gardens were kept forever green by the streams from the neighboring hills, and shaded with the trees sacred to Minerva and coeval with the foundation of the city, — whose circuit enclosed

> "the olive-grove of Academe,
> Plato's retirement, where the Attic bird
> Trilled his thick-warbled note the summer long,"

— whose pathways gleamed with the monuments of the illustrious dead, the work of the most consummate masters that ever gave life to marble. There, beneath the overarching plane-trees, upon a lofty stage erected for the purpose, it was ordained that a funeral oration should be pronounced by some citizen of Athens in the presence of the assembled multitude."

This eloquent description by Edward Everett, in the "Address at the Consecration of the National Cemetery at Gettysburg," fitly introduces the Funeral Oration ascribed by the ancients to Lysias. There are four others remaining: the celebrated oration of Pericles over the first slain of the Peloponnesian War, preserved, though only in substance, in the history of Thucydides; the second, in the Platonic dialogue *Menexenus*, Socrates being made to rehearse it as a discourse he had learned from Aspasia; a third, bearing the name of Demosthenes, but unquestionably spurious and altogether unworthy of such authorship; the fourth, that delivered by Hyperides over the Athenians who had fallen in the Lamian War.

Besides the Forensic and the Deliberative, the ancient writers made a third class, the Epideictic or "Panegyric" orations, embracing those that were designed not so much to secure any immediate practical result, as to furnish a

display of eloquence for public ceremonies and festivals. In this class belonged the funeral oration, and the one before us was early celebrated as a masterpiece of its kind.

It purports to have been composed for one of the funeral ceremonies referred to above, during or soon after the Corinthian War (B. C. 394 – 387). The most decisive engagements of the war were naval. On land, Corinth was the base of operations against Sparta; it was held by the anti-Spartan party of its citizens, aided by the allied Bœotian, Argive, and Athenian forces, against the Lacedæmonians and their allies collected from the Peloponnesus. On the part of the Athenians, Iphicrates and his peltasts distinguished themselves in several minor engagements.* The title below is supposed to refer to those who fell in some of the earlier skirmishes (perhaps B. C. 392); but the allusions, in § 59, to the condition to which Greece was reduced by the Peace of Antalcidas (387), if indeed they formed a part of the original discourse, would require us to assign a date as late as the close of the war.

It is aside from the purpose of this Introduction to enter into the critical controversy concerning its authorship, or its merits in point of style. "Pulcherrima et ornatissima oratio," says Muretus; Blass, on the other hand, pronounces it a "Schaustück sophistischer Beredsamkeit," decorated "mit dem eitelsten Flitter." The reader will at once perceive the difference between this and the other compositions of Lysias. Its merits and its defects, however, are to a great extent those of this species of oratory. The festival and the oration in honor of the dead had become an annual celebration in the time of Plato and Lysias. These annual discourses appear to have been cast in a common mould, mainly following the same order of topics, and abounding in elaborately turned

* Grote, *History of Greece*, Vol. IX. p. 335 *seq.*

phrases that in the lapse of time became the commonplaces of the rhetoricians. In view of the conformity to a fixed type, and the reluctance of all Greek art to disregard traditionary limitations, it would be idle to seek in the funeral oration of that period marked originality either of thought or of style; it is to be remembered, too, both of this and of the *Menexenus*, that they are eulogies, not histories; hence they are not documents of historical accuracy. As to the authorship of this, not a few critics refuse to include it in the productions of Lysias. But Grote believes it to be genuine, and that the *Menexenus* was written in competition with it. "Though the name of Lysias," he says, "is not mentioned in the *Menexenus*, yet the rivalry between him and Plato is clearly proclaimed in the Platonic *Phædrus*, and the two funeral harangues go so completely over the same ground, that intentional competition on the part of the latest is the most natural of all hypotheses."* Aristotle (*Rhet.*, III. 15) quotes from § 60, referring to it as "the funeral oration" (τῷ ἐπιταφίῳ), but without naming the author.

Whoever the author, and whenever written or delivered, it illustrates admirably the patriotic eloquence of the time. The recent dead and the surviving mourners form the theme of the closing portion only (§§ 67 – 81) of the discourse. In the main it is an exultant review of the glorious part taken by Athens in Hellenic history. Beginning with the mythical age of the Amazons, glancing at the autochthonous origin of the Attic people, and lingering longest on the Persian wars, the speaker tells again the oft-told deeds of old heroic days, rehearsing the achievements of the dead as an example and an inspiration to the living.

---

* Grote's *Plato*, Vol. III. p. 8.

II.

ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΣ

ΤΟΙΣ ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΩΝ ΒΟΗΘΟΙΣ.

Εἰ μὲν ἡγούμην οἷόν τε εἶναι, ὦ παρόντες ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ τάφῳ, λόγῳ δηλῶσαι τὴν τῶν ἐνθάδε κειμένων ἀρετήν, ἐμεμψάμην ἂν τοῖς ἐπαγγείλασιν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐξ ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν λέγειν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὁ πᾶς χρόνος οὐχ ἱκανὸς λόγον ἴσον παρασκευάσαι τοῖς τούτων ἔργοις, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡ πόλις μοι δοκεῖ, προνοουμένη τῶν ἐνθάδε λεγόντων, ἐξ ὀλίγου τὴν πρόσταξιν ποιεῖσθαι, ἡγουμένη οὕτως ἂν μάλιστα συγγνώμης αὐτοὺς παρὰ τῶν ἀκουσάντων τυγχάνειν. ὅμως δὲ ὁ μὲν 2
λόγος μοι περὶ τούτων, ὁ δ' ἀγὼν οὐ πρὸς τὰ τούτων ἔργα ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς πρότερον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἰρηκότας. τοσαύτην γὰρ ἀφθονίαν παρεσκεύασεν ἡ τούτων ἀρετὴ καὶ τοῖς ποιεῖν δυναμένοις καὶ τοῖς εἰπεῖν βουληθεῖσιν, ὥστε καλὰ μὲν πολλὰ τοῖς προτέροις περὶ αὐτῶν εἰρῆσθαι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκείνοις παραλελεῖφθαι, ἱκανὰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις ἐξεῖναι εἰπεῖν· οὔτε γὰρ γῆς ἄπειροι

οὔτε θαλάττης οὐδεμιᾶς, πανταχῇ δὲ καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις οἱ τὰ αὑτῶν πενθοῦντες κακὰ τὰς τούτων ἀρετὰς ὑμνοῦσι.

3 Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τοὺς παλαιοὺς κινδύνους τῶν προγόνων δίειμι, μνήμην παρὰ τῆς φήμης λαβών· ἄξιον γὰρ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις κἀκείνων μεμνῆσθαι, ὑμνοῦντας μὲν ἐν ταῖς ᾠδαῖς, λέγοντας δ' ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἀγαθῶν γνώμαις, τιμῶντας δ' ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς τοῖς τοιούτοις, παιδεύοντας δ' ἐν τοῖς τῶν τεθνεώτων ἔργοις τοὺς ζῶντας.

4 Ἀμαζόνες γὰρ Ἄρεως μὲν τὸ παλαιὸν ἦσαν θυγατέρες, οἰκοῦσαι δὲ παρὰ τὸν Θερμώδοντα ποταμόν, μόναι μὲν ὡπλισμέναι σιδήρῳ τῶν περὶ αὐτάς, πρῶται δὲ τῶν πάντων ἐφ' ἵππους ἀναβᾶσαι, οἷς ἀνελπίστως δι' ἀπειρίαν τῶν ἐναντίων ἦρουν μὲν τοὺς φεύγοντας, ἀπέλειπον δὲ τοὺς διώκοντας ἐνομίζοντο δὲ διὰ τὴν εὐψυχίαν μᾶλλον ἄνδρες ἢ διὰ τὴν φύσιν γυναῖκες· πλέον γὰρ ἐδόκουν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ταῖς ψυχαῖς διαφέρειν ἢ ταῖς
5 ἰδέαις ἐλλείπειν. ἄρχουσαι δὲ πολλῶν ἐθνῶν, καὶ ἔργῳ μὲν τοὺς περὶ αὐτὰς καταδεδουλωμένας, λόγῳ δὲ περὶ τῆσδε τῆς χώρας ἀκούουσαι κλέος μέγα, πολλῆς δόξης καὶ μεγάλης ἐλπίδος χάριν παραλαβοῦσαι τὰ μαχιμώτατα τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ τήνδε τὴν πόλιν. τυχοῦσαι δ' ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ὁμοίας ἐκτήσαντο τὰς ψυχὰς τῇ φύσει, καὶ ἐναντίαν τὴν δόξαν τῆς προτέρας λαβοῦσαι μᾶλλον ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων ἢ ἐκ τῶν σωμάτων ἔδοξαν εἶναι

γυναῖκες. μόναις δ' αὐταῖς οὐκ ἐξεγένετο ἐκ τῶν 6
ἡμαρτημένων μαθούσαις περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἄμεινον
βουλεύσασθαι, οὐδ' οἴκαδε ἀπελθούσαις ἀπαγγεῖ-
λαι τήν τε σφετέραν αὐτῶν δυστυχίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν
ἡμετέρων προγόνων ἀρετήν· αὐτοῦ γὰρ ἀποθα-
νοῦσαι, καὶ δοῦσαι δίκην τῆς ἀνοίας, τῆσδε μὲν
τῆς πόλεως διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀθάνατον μνήμην
ἐποίησαν, τὴν δὲ ἑαυτῶν πατρίδα διὰ τὴν ἐνθάδε
συμφορὰν ἀνώνυμον κατέστησαν. ἐκεῖναι μὲν
οὖν τῆς ἀλλοτρίας ἀδίκως ἐπιθυμήσασαι τὴν ἑαυ-
τῶν δικαίως ἀπώλεσαν.

Ἀδράστου δὲ καὶ Πολυνείκους ἐπὶ Θήβας στρα- 7
τευσάντων καὶ ἡττηθέντων μάχῃ, οὐκ ἐώντων
Καδμείων θάπτειν τοὺς νεκρούς, Ἀθηναῖοι ἡγη-
σάμενοι ἐκείνους μέν, εἴ τι ἠδίκουν, ἀποθανόντας
δίκην ἔχειν τὴν μεγίστην, τοὺς δὲ κάτω τὰ αὐτῶν
οὐ κομίζεσθαι, ἱερῶν δὲ μιαινομένων τοὺς ἄνω
θεοὺς ἀσεβεῖσθαι, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πέμψαντες κή-
ρυκας ἐδέοντο αὐτῶν δοῦναι τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναίρε-
σιν, νομίζοντες ἀνδρῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν εἶναι ζῶντας 8
τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τιμωρήσασθαι, ἀπιστούντων δὲ σφί-
σιν αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς τῶν τεθνεώτων σώμασι τὴν
εὐψυχίαν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, οὐ δυνάμενοι δὲ τούτων
τυχεῖν ἐστράτευσαν ἐπ' αὐτούς, οὐδεμιᾶς διαφορᾶς
πρότερον πρὸς Καδμείους ὑπαρχούσης, οὐδὲ τοῖς
ζῶσιν Ἀργείων χαριζόμενοι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τεθνεῶτας 9
ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἀξιοῦντες τῶν νομιζομένων τυγχάνειν
πρὸς τοὺς ἑτέρους ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ἐκινδύνευσαν,

ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν, ἵνα μηκέτι εἰς τοὺς τεθνεῶτας ἐξαμαρτάνοντες πλείω περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐξυβρίσωσιν, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν ἑτέρων, ἵνα μὴ πρότερον εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν ἀπέλθωσι πατρίου τιμῆς ἀτυχήσαντες καὶ Ἑλληνικοῦ νόμου στερηθέντες καὶ κοινῆς ἐλπίδος
10 ἡμαρτηκότες. ταῦτα διανοηθέντες, καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τύχας κοινὰς ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων νομίζοντες, πολλοὺς μὲν πολεμίους κτώμενοι, τὸ δὲ δίκαιον ἔχοντες σύμμαχον ἐνίκων μαχόμενοι. καὶ οὐχ ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης ἐπαρθέντες μείζονος παρὰ Καδμείων τιμωρίας ἐπεθύμησαν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις μὲν ἀντὶ τῆς ἀσεβείας τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀρετὴν ἐπεδείξαντο, αὐτοὶ δὲ λαβόντες τὰ ἆθλα ὧνπερ ἕνεκα ἀφίκοντο, τοὺς Ἀργείων νεκρούς, ἔθαψαν ἐν τῇ αὐτῶν Ἐλευσῖνι. περὶ μὲν οὖν τοὺς ἀποθανόντας τῶν ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας τοιοῦτοι γεγόνασιν.

11 Ὑστέρῳ δὲ χρόνῳ, ἐπειδὴ Ἡρακλῆς μὲν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφανίσθη, οἱ δὲ παῖδες αὐτοῦ ἔφευγον μὲν Εὐρυσθέα, ἐξηλαύνοντο δὲ ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων, αἰσχυνομένων μὲν τοῖς ἔργοις, φοβουμένων δὲ τὴν Εὐρυσθέως δύναμιν, ἀφικόμενοι εἰς τήνδε τὴν πόλιν ἱκέται ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν ἐκαθέζοντο·
12 ἐξαιτουμένου δὲ αὐτοὺς Εὐρυσθέως Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκ ἠθέλησαν ἐκδοῦναι, ἀλλὰ τὴν Ἡρακλέους ἀρετὴν μᾶλλον ᾐδοῦντο ἢ τὸν κίνδυνον τὸν ἑαυτῶν ἐφοβοῦντο, καὶ ἠξίουν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων μετὰ τοῦ δικαίου διαμάχεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς δυναμένοις χαριζόμενοι τοὺς ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἀδικουμένους

ἐκδοῦναι. ἐπιστρατεύσαντος δ' Εὐρυσθέως μετὰ 13
τῶν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ Πελοπόννησον ἐχόντων,
οὐκ ἐγγὺς τῶν δεινῶν γενόμενοι μετέγνωσαν,
ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτὴν εἶχον γνώμην ἥνπερ πρότερον,
ἀγαθὸν μὲν οὐδὲν ἰδίᾳ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν
πεπονθότες, ἐκείνους τ' οὐκ εἰδότες ὁποῖοί τινες
ἄνδρες ἔσονται γενόμενοι· δίκαιον δὲ νομίζοντες 14
εἶναι, οὐ προτέρας ἔχθρας ὑπαρχούσης πρὸς Εὐρυ-
σθέα, οὐδὲ κέρδους προκειμένου πλὴν δόξης ἀγα-
θῆς, τοσοῦτον κίνδυνον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἤραντο, τοὺς
μὲν ἀδικουμένους ἐλεοῦντες, τοὺς δ' ὑβρίζοντας
μισοῦντες, καὶ τοὺς μὲν κωλύειν ἐπιχειροῦντες,
τοῖς δ' ἐπικουρεῖν ἀξιοῦντες, ἡγούμενοι ἐλευθερίας
μὲν σημεῖον εἶναι μηδὲν ποιεῖν ἄκοντας, δικαιοσύ-
νης δὲ τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις βοηθεῖν, εὐψυχίας δ'
ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀμφοτέρων, εἰ δέοι, μαχομένους ἀπο-
θνήσκειν. τοσοῦτον δ' ἐφρόνουν ἀμφότεροι, ὥσθ' 15
οἱ μὲν μετ' Εὐρυσθέως οὐδὲν παρ' ἑκόντων ἐζήτουν
εὑρίσκεσθαι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οὐκ ἠξίουν Εὐρυσθέα
αὐτὸν ἱκετεύοντα τοὺς ἱκέτας αὐτῶν ἐξελεῖν. πα-
ραταξάμενοι δ' ἰδίᾳ δυνάμει τὴν ἐξ ἁπάσης Πελο-
ποννήσου στρατιὰν ἐλθοῦσαν ἐνίκων μαχόμενοι,
καὶ τῶν Ἡρακλέους παίδων τὰ μὲν σώματα εἰς
ἄδειαν κατέστησαν, ἀπαλλάξαντες δὲ τοῦ δέους
καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἠλευθέρωσαν, διὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ πα-
τρὸς ἀρετὴν ἐκείνους τοῖς αὐτῶν κινδύνοις ἐστε-
φάνωσαν. τοσοῦτον δὲ εὐτυχέστεροι παῖδες ὄν- 16
τες ἐγένοντο τοῦ πατρός· ὁ μὲν γάρ, καίπερ ὢν

ἀγαθῶν πολλῶν αἴτιος ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις, ἐπίπονον καὶ φιλόνεικον καὶ φιλότιμον αὑτῷ καταστήσας τὸν βίον τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἀδικοῦντας ἐκόλασεν, Εὐρυσθέα δὲ καὶ ἐχθρὸν ὄντα καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐξαμαρτάνοντα οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν τιμωρήσασθαι· οἱ δὲ παῖδες αὐτοῦ διὰ τήνδε τὴν πόλιν τῇ αὐτῇ εἶδον ἡμέρᾳ τήν θ' ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν τιμωρίαν.

17 Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ὑπῆρχε τοῖς ἡμετέροις προγόνοις μιᾷ γνώμῃ χρωμένοις περὶ τοῦ δικαίου διαμάχεσθαι. ἥ τε γὰρ ἀρχὴ τοῦ βίου δικαία· οὐ γάρ, ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοί, πανταχόθεν συνειλεγμένοι καὶ ἑτέρους ἐκβαλόντες τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν ᾤκησαν, ἀλλ' αὐτόχθονες ὄντες τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκέκτηντο καὶ
18 μητέρα καὶ πατρίδα. πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ μόνοι ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐκβαλόντες τὰς παρὰ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς δυναστείας δημοκρατίαν κατεστήσαντο, ἡγούμενοι τὴν πάντων ἐλευθερίαν ὁμόνοιαν εἶναι μεγίστην, κοινὰς δ' ἀλλήλοις τὰς ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων ἐλπίδας ποιήσαντες ἐλευθέραις ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐπολι-
19 τεύοντο, νόμῳ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τιμῶντες καὶ τοὺς κακοὺς κολάζοντες, ἡγησάμενοι θηρίων μὲν ἔργον εἶναι ὑπ' ἀλλήλων βίᾳ κρατεῖσθαι, ἀνθρώποις δὲ προσήκειν νόμῳ μὲν ὁρίσαι τὸ δίκαιον, λόγῳ δὲ πεῖσαι, ἔργῳ δὲ τούτοις ὑπηρετεῖν, ὑπὸ νόμου μὲν βασιλευομένους, ὑπὸ λόγου δὲ διδασκομένους.

20 Καὶ γάρ τοι καὶ φύντες καλῶς καὶ γνόντες ὅμοια, πολλὰ μὲν καλὰ καὶ θαυμαστὰ οἱ πρόγονοι

τῶν ἐνθάδε κειμένων εἰργάσαντο, ἀείμνηστα δὲ καὶ μεγάλα καὶ πανταχοῦ οἱ ἐξ ἐκείνων γεγονότες τρόπαια διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν κατέλιπον. μόνοι γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἁπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος πρὸς πολλὰς μυριάδας τῶν βαρβάρων διεκινδύνευσαν. ὁ γὰρ τῆς 21
Ἀσίας βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἀγαπῶν τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ἀγαθοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐλπίζων καὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην δουλώσεσθαι, ἔστειλε πεντήκοντα μυριάδας στρατιάν. ἡγησάμενοι δέ, εἰ τήνδε τὴν πόλιν ἢ ἑκοῦσαν φίλην ποιήσαιντο ἢ ἄκουσαν καταστρέψαιντο, ῥᾳδίως τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἄρξειν, ἀπέβησαν εἰς Μαραθῶνα, νομίσαντες οὕτως ἂν ἐρημοτάτους εἶναι συμμάχων [τοὺς Ἕλληνας], εἰ ἔτι στασιαζούσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ᾧ τινι χρὴ τρόπῳ τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀμύνασθαι, τὸν κίνδυνον ποιήσαιντο. ἔτι δ' αὐτοῖς 22
ἐκ τῶν προτέρων ἔργων περὶ τῆς πόλεως τοιαύτη δόξα παρειστήκει, ὡς εἰ μὲν πρότερον ἐπ' ἄλλην πόλιν ἴασιν, ἐκείνοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις πολεμήσουσι· προθύμως γὰρ τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις ἥξουσι βοηθήσοντες· εἰ δ' ἐνθάδε πρῶτον ἀφίξονται, οὐδένας ἄλλους τῶν Ἑλλήνων τολμήσειν ἑτέρους σώζοντας φανερὰν ἔχθραν πρὸς ἐκείνους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καταθέσθαι. οἱ μὲν τοίνυν ταῦτα διενοοῦντο· οἱ δ' 23
ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι οὐ λογισμῷ .... εἰδότες τοὺς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ κινδύνους, ἀλλὰ νομίζοντες τὸν εὐκλεᾶ θάνατον ἀθάνατον περὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν καταλείπειν λόγον, οὐκ ἐφοβήθησαν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐναντίων, ἀλλὰ τῇ αὐτῶν ἀρετῇ μᾶλλον ἐπίστευσαν.

καὶ αἰσχυνόμενοι ὅτι ἦσαν οἱ βάρβαροι αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, οὐκ ἀνέμειναν πυθέσθαι οὐδὲ βοηθῆσαι τοὺς συμμάχους, οὐδ' ᾠήθησαν δεῖν ἑτέροις τῆς σωτηρίας χάριν εἰδέναι, ἀλλὰ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τοὺς
24 ἄλλους Ἕλληνας. ταῦτα μιᾷ γνώμῃ πάντες γνόντες ἀπήντων ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλούς· ἐνόμιζον γὰρ ἀποθανεῖν μὲν αὐτοῖς μετὰ πάντων προσήκειν, ἀγαθοὺς δ' εἶναι μετ' ὀλίγων, καὶ τὰς μὲν ψυχὰς ἀλλοτρίας διὰ τὸν θάνατον κεκτῆσθαι, τὴν δ' ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων μνήμην ἰδίαν καταλείψειν. ἠξίουν δ', οὓς μὴ μόνοι νικῷεν, οὐδ' ἂν μετὰ συμμάχων δύνασθαι· καὶ ἡττηθέντες μὲν ὀλίγῳ τῶν ἄλλων προαπολεῖσθαι, νικήσαντες δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
25 ἐλευθερώσειν. ἄνδρες δ' ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι, καὶ τῶν μὲν σωμάτων ἀφειδήσαντες, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς οὐ φιλοψυχήσαντες, καὶ μᾶλλον τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς νόμους αἰσχυνόμενοι ἢ τὸν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους κίνδυνον φοβούμενοι, ἔστησαν μὲν τρόπαια ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τῶν βαρβάρων ἐν τῇ αὐτῶν, ὑπὲρ χρημάτων εἰς τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν ἐμβαλόντων,
26 παρὰ τοὺς ὅρους τῆς χώρας, οὕτω δὲ διὰ ταχέων τὸν κίνδυνον ἐποιήσαντο, ὥστε οἱ αὐτοὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπήγγειλαν τήν τ' ἐνθάδε ἄφιξιν τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ τὴν τῶν προγόνων νίκην. καὶ γάρ τοι οὐδεὶς τῶν ἄλλων ἔδεισεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέλλοντος κινδύνου, ἀλλ' ἀκούσαντες ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν ἐλευθερίας ἤσθησαν. ὥστε οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν, πάλαι τῶν ἔργων γεγενημένων, ὥσπερ καινῶν ὄντων ἔτι καὶ

νῦν τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ζηλοῦσθαι.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ξέρξης ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεύς, 27
καταφρονήσας μὲν τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἐψευσμένος δὲ τῆς ἐλπίδος, ἀτιμαζόμενος δὲ τῷ γεγενημένῳ, ἀχθόμενος δὲ τῇ συμφορᾷ, ὀργιζόμενος δὲ τοῖς αἰτίοις, ἀπαθὴς δ' ὢν κακῶν καὶ ἄπειρος ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν, δεκάτῳ ἔτει παρασκευασάμενος χιλίαις μὲν καὶ διακοσίαις ναυσὶν ἀφίκετο, τῆς δὲ πεζῆς στρατιᾶς οὕτως ἄπειρον τὸ πλῆθος ἦγεν, ὥστε καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀκολουθήσαντα πολὺ ἂν ἔργον εἴη καταλέξαι· τὸ δὲ μέγιστον σημεῖον τοῦ 28
πλήθους· ἐξὸν γὰρ αὐτῷ χιλίαις ναυσὶ διαβιβάσαι κατὰ τὸ στενώτατον τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου τὴν πεζὴν στρατιὰν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην, οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, ἡγούμενος τὴν διατριβὴν αὐτῷ πολλὴν ἔσεσθαι· ἀλλ' ὑπεριδὼν καὶ τὰ φύσει 29
πεφυκότα καὶ τὰ θεῖα πράγματα καὶ τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας διανοίας ὁδὸν μὲν διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐποιήσατο, πλοῦν δὲ διὰ τῆς γῆς ἠνάγκασε γενέσθαι, ζεύξας μὲν τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, διορύξας δὲ τὸν Ἄθω· ὑφισταμένου οὐδενός, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν ἀκόντων ὑπακουόντων, τῶν δὲ ἑκόντων προδιδόντων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ἱκανοὶ ἦσαν ἀμύνασθαι, οἱ δ' ὑπὸ χρημάτων διεφθαρμένοι· ἀμφότερα δ' ἦν αὐτοὺς τὰ πείθοντα, κέρδος καὶ δέος. Ἀθηναῖοι δ' οὕτω 30
διακειμένης τῆς Ἑλλάδος αὐτοὶ μὲν εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἐμβάντες ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐβοήθησαν, Λακεδαιμόνιοι

δὲ καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἔνιοι εἰς Θερμοπύλας ἀπήντησαν, ἡγούμενοι διὰ τὴν στενότητα τῶν χωρίων
31 τὴν πάροδον οἷοί τ' ἔσεσθαι διαφυλάξαι. γενομένου δὲ τοῦ κινδύνου κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν ἐνίκων τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέ, οὐ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐνδεεῖς γενόμενοι, ἀλλὰ τοῦ πλήθους ψευσθέντες καὶ οὓς φυλάξειν ᾤοντο καὶ πρὸς οὓς κινδυνεύσειν ἔμελλον, ... οὐχ ἡττηθέντες τῶν ἐναντίων, ἀλλ' ἀποθανόντες οὗπερ ἐτάχθη-
32 σαν μάχεσθαι, τούτῳ δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ τῶν μὲν δυστυχησάντων, τῶν δὲ τῆς παρόδου κρατησάντων, οἱ μὲν ἐπορεύοντο ἐπὶ τήνδε τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δ' ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι πυθόμενοι μὲν τὴν γεγενημένην Λακεδαιμονίοις συμφοράν, ἀπορροῦντες δὲ τοῖς περιεστηκόσι πράγμασιν, εἰδότες δ' ὅτι, εἰ μὲν κατὰ γῆν τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀπαντήσονται, ἐπιπλεύσαντες χιλίαις ναυσὶν ἐρήμην τὴν πόλιν λήψονται, εἰ δὲ εἰς τὰς τριήρεις ἐμβήσονται, ὑπὸ τῆς πεζῆς στρατιᾶς ἁλώσονται, ἀμφότερα δὲ οὐ δυνήσονται, ἀμύνα-
33 σθαί τε καὶ φυλακὴν ἱκανὴν καταλιπεῖν, δυοῖν δὲ προκειμένοιν, πότερον χρὴ τὴν πατρίδα ἐκλιπεῖν ἢ μετὰ τῶν βαρβάρων γενομένους καταδουλώσασθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἡγησάμενοι κρεῖττον εἶναι μετ' ἀρετῆς καὶ πενίας καὶ φυγῆς ἐλευθερίαν ἢ μετ' ὀνείδους καὶ πλούτου δουλείαν τῆς πατρίδος, ἐξέλιπον ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὴν πόλιν, ἵν' ἐν μέρει πρὸς ἑκατέραν ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς ἀμφοτέρας ἅμα τὰς
34 δυνάμεις κινδυνεύσωσιν, ὑπεκθέμενοι δὲ παῖδας

καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ μητέρας εἰς Σαλαμῖνα, συνήθροιζον καὶ τὸ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ναυτικόν. οὐ πολλαῖς δ' ὕστερον ἡμέραις ἦλθε καὶ ἡ πεζὴ στρατιὰ καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ τῶν βαρβάρων, ὃ τίς οὐκ ἂν ἰδὼν ἐφοβήθη, ὡς μέγας καὶ δεινὸς τῇδε τῇ πόλει κίνδυνος ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας ἠγωνίσθη; ποίαν δὲ γνώμην εἶχον ἢ οἱ θεώμενοι 35
τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐκείναις, οὔσης καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν σωτηρίας ἀπίστου καὶ τοῦ προσιόντος κινδύνου, ἢ οἱ μέλλοντες ναυμαχήσειν ὑπὲρ τῆς φιλότητος, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄθλων τῶν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι; οἷς τοσοῦτον 36
πανταχόθεν περιειστήκει πλῆθος πολεμίων, ὥστε ἐλάχιστον μὲν αὐτοῖς εἶναι τῶν παρόντων κακῶν τὸ θάνατον τὸν αὐτῶν προειδέναι, μεγίστην δὲ συμφοράν, ἃ ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων εὐτυχησάντων τοὺς ὑπεκθένταs ἤλπιζον πείσεσθαι. ἧ που διὰ 37
τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἀπορίαν πολλάκις μὲν ἐδεξιώσαντο ἀλλήλους, εἰκότως δὲ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὠλοφύραντο, εἰδότες μὲν τὰς σφετέρας ναῦς ὀλίγας οὔσας, ὁρῶντες δὲ πολλὰς τὰς τῶν πολεμίων, ἐπιστάμενοι δὲ τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἠρημωμένην, τὴν δὲ χώραν πορθουμένην καὶ μεστὴν τῶν βαρβάρων, ἱερῶν δὲ καιομένων, ἁπάντων δ' ἐγγὺς ὄντων τῶν δεινῶν, ἀκούοντες δ' ἐν ταὐτῷ συμμεμιγμένου 38
Ἑλληνικοῦ καὶ βαρβαρικοῦ παιᾶνος, παρακελευσμοῦ δ' ἀμφοτέρων καὶ κραυγῆς τῶν διαφθειρομένων, καὶ τῆς θαλάττης μεστῆς τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ πολλῶν μὲν συμπιπτόντων καὶ φιλίων καὶ πολεμίων

ναυαγίων, ἀντιπάλου δὲ πολὺν χρόνον οὔσης τῆς ναυμαχίας δοκοῦντες τοτὲ μὲν νενικηκέναι καὶ σεσῶσθαι, τοτὲ δ' ἡττῆσθαι καὶ ἀπολωλέναι. 39 ἦ που διὰ τὸν παρόντα φόβον πολλὰ μὲν ᾠήθησαν ἰδεῖν ὧν οὐκ εἶδον, πολλὰ δ' ἀκοῦσαι ὧν οὐκ ἤκουσαν. ποῖαι δ' οὐχ ἱκετεῖαι θεῶν ἐγένοντο ἢ θυσιῶν ἀναμνήσεις, ἔλεός τε παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν πόθος, οἶκτός τε πατέρων καὶ μητέρων, λογισμὸς δ', εἰ δυστυχήσειαν, τῶν μελλόντων 40 ἔσεσθαι κακῶν; τίς οὐκ ἂν θεῶν ἠλέησεν αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μεγέθους τοῦ κινδύνου; ἢ τίς ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἂν ἐδάκρυσεν; ἢ τίς τῆς τόλμης αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἂν ἠγάσθη; ἢ πολὺ πλεῖστον ἐκεῖνοι κατὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων διήνεγκαν καὶ ἐν τοῖς βουλεύμασι καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου κινδύνοις, ἐκλιπόντες μὲν τὴν πόλιν, εἰς τὰς ναῦς δ' ἐμβάντες, τὰς δ' αὐτῶν ψυχὰς ὀλίγας οὔσας ἀντι- 41 τάξαντες τῷ πλήθει τῷ τῆς Ἀσίας. ἐπέδειξαν δὲ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, νικήσαντες τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, ὅτι κρεῖττον μετ' ὀλίγων [πολιτευομένων] ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας κινδυνεύειν ἢ μετὰ πολλῶν βασιλευο- 42 μένων ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν δουλείας. πλεῖστα δὲ καὶ κάλλιστα ἐκεῖνοι ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας συνεβάλοντο, στρατηγὸν μὲν Θεμιστοκλέα, ἱκανώτατον εἰπεῖν καὶ γνῶναι καὶ πρᾶξαι, ναῦς δὲ πλείους τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων, ἄνδρας δ' ἐμπειροτάτους. καίτοι τίνες ἂν τούτοις τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἤρισαν γνώμῃ καὶ πλήθει καὶ ἀρετῇ;

ὥστε δικαίως μὲν ἀναμφισβήτητα τἀριστεῖα τῆς 43
ναυμαχίας ἔλαβον παρὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, εἰκότως δὲ
τὴν εὐτυχίαν ὁμονοοῦσαν τοῖς κινδύνοις ἐκτή-
σαντο, γνησίαν δὲ καὶ αὐτόχθονα τοῖς ἐκ τῆς
Ἀσίας βαρβάροις τὴν αὑτῶν ἀρετὴν ἐπεδείξαντο.

Ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ τοιούτους αὑτοὺς 44
παρασχόντες καὶ πολὺ πλεῖστον τῶν κινδύνων
μετασχόντες τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἀρετῇ κοινὴν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν
καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκτήσαντο· ὕστερον δὲ Πελοπον-
νησίων τειχιζόντων τὸν Ἰσθμόν, καὶ ἀγαπώντων
μὲν τῇ σωτηρίᾳ, νομιζόντων δ' ἀπηλλάχθαι τοῦ
κατὰ θάλατταν κινδύνου, καὶ διανοουμένων τοὺς
ἄλλους Ἕλληνας περιιδεῖν ὑπὸ τοῖς βαρβάροις
γενομένους, ὀργισθέντες Ἀθηναῖοι συνεβούλευον 45
αὐτοῖς, εἰ ταύτην τὴν γνώμην ἔξουσι, περὶ ἅπα-
σαν τὴν Πελοπόννησον τεῖχος περιβαλεῖν· εἰ γὰρ
αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων προδιδόμενοι μετὰ τῶν
βαρβάρων ἔσονται, οὔτ' ἐκείνοις δεήσειν χιλίων
νεῶν οὔτε τούτους ὠφελήσειν τὸ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ τεῖχος·
ἀκινδύνως γὰρ ἔσεσθαι τὴν τῆς θαλάσσης ἀρχὴν
βασιλέως. διδασκόμενοι δὲ καὶ νομίζοντες αὐτοὶ 46
μὲν ἄδικά τε ποιεῖν καὶ κακῶς βουλεύεσθαι, Ἀθη-
ναίους δὲ δίκαιά τε λέγειν καὶ τὰ βέλτιστα αὐτοῖς
παραινεῖν, ἐβοήθησαν εἰς Πλαταιάς· ἀποδράντων
δὲ ὑπὸ νύκτα τῶν πλείστων συμμάχων ἐκ τῶν
τάξεων διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων, Λακεδαιμό-
νιοι μὲν καὶ Τεγεᾶται τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐτρέψαντο,
Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ Πλαταιεῖς πάντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας

ἐνίκων μαχόμενοι τοὺς ἀπογνόντας τῆς ἐλευθερίας
47 καὶ ὑπομείναντας τὴν δουλείαν. ἐν ἐκείνῃ δὲ τῇ
ἡμέρᾳ καλλίστην τελευτὴν τοῖς προτέροις κινδύ-
νοις ἐπιθέντες, βέβαιον μὲν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῇ
Εὐρώπῃ κατειργάσαντο, ἐν ἅπασι δὲ τοῖς κινδύ-
νοις δόντες ἔλεγχον τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀρετῆς, καὶ μόνοι
καὶ μεθ' ἑτέρων, καὶ πεζομαχοῦντες καὶ ναυμα-
χοῦντες, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς
Ἕλληνας, ὑπὸ πάντων ἠξιώθησαν, καὶ μεθ' ὧν
ἐκινδύνευον καὶ πρὸς οὓς ἐπολέμουν, ἡγεμόνες
γενέσθαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

48 Ὑστέρῳ δὲ χρόνῳ Ἑλληνικοῦ πολέμου κατα-
στάντος διὰ ζῆλον τῶν γεγενημένων καὶ φθόνον
τῶν πεπραγμένων, μέγα μὲν ἅπαντες φρονοῦντες,
μικρῶν δ' ἐγκλημάτων ἕκαστοι δεόμενοι, ναυμα-
χίας Ἀθηναίοις πρὸς Αἰγινήτας καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνων
συμμάχους γενομένης ἑβδομήκοντα τριήρεις αὐ-
49 τῶν ἑλάμβανον. πολιορκούντων δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐ-
τὸν χρόνον Αἴγυπτόν τε καὶ Αἴγιναν, καὶ τῆς
ἡλικίας ἀπούσης ἔν τε ταῖς ναυσὶ καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ
στρατεύματι, Κορίνθιοι καὶ οἱ ἐκείνων σύμμαχοι,
ἡγούμενοι ἢ εἰς ἔρημον τὴν χώραν ἐμβαλεῖν ἢ ἐξ
Αἰγίνης ἄξειν τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐξελθόντες πανδη-
μεὶ Γεράνειαν κατέλαβον· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τῶν μὲν
ἀπόντων, τῶν δ' ἐγγὺς ὄντων, οὐδένα ἐτόλμησαν
μεταπέμψασθαι· ταῖς δ' αὑτῶν ψυχαῖς πιστεύ-
σαντες καὶ τῶν ἐπιόντων καταφρονήσαντες οἱ
γεραίτεροι καὶ οἱ τῆς ἡλικίας ἐντὸς γεγονότες

ἠξίουν αὐτοὶ μόνοι τὸν κίνδυνον ποιήσασθαι, οἱ 51
μὲν ἐμπειρίᾳ τὴν ἀρετήν, οἱ δὲ φύσει κεκτημένοι·
καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτοὶ πολλαχοῦ ἀγαθοὶ γεγενημένοι,
οἱ δ' ἐκείνους μιμούμενοι, τῶν μὲν πρεσβυτέρων
ἄρχειν ἐπισταμένων, τῶν δὲ νεωτέρων τὸ ἐπιτατ-
τόμενον ποιεῖν δυναμένων, Μυρωνίδου στρατη- 52
γοῦντος ἀπαντήσαντες αὐτοὶ εἰς τὴν Μεγαρικὴν
ἐνίκων μαχόμενοι ἅπασαν τὴν δύναμιν τὴν ἐκείνων
τοῖς ἤδη ἀπειρηκόσι καὶ τοῖς οὔπω δυναμένοις,
(τοὺς εἰς τὴν σφετέραν ἐμβαλεῖν ἀξιώσαντας εἰς
τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν ἀπαντήσαντες) τρόπαιον δὲ στή- 53
σαντες καλλίστου μὲν αὐτοῖς ἔργου, αἰσχίστου δὲ
τοῖς πολεμίοις, οἱ μὲν οὐκέτι τοῖς σώμασιν, οἱ δ'
οὔπω δυνάμενοι, ταῖς δὲ ψυχαῖς ἀμφότεροι κρείτ-
τους γενόμενοι, μετὰ καλλίστης δόξης εἰς τὴν αὐ-
τῶν ἀπελθόντες οἱ μὲν πάλιν ἐπαιδεύοντο, οἱ δὲ
περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐβουλεύοντο.

Καθ' ἕκαστον μὲν οὐ ῥᾴδιον τὰ ὑπὸ πολλῶν κιν- 54
δυνευθέντα ὑφ' ἑνὸς ῥηθῆναι, οὐδὲ τὰ ἐν ἅπαντι τῷ
χρόνῳ πραχθέντα ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ δηλωθῆναι. τίς
γὰρ ἂν ἢ λόγος ἢ χρόνος ἢ ῥήτωρ ἱκανὸς γένοιτο
μηνῦσαι τὴν τῶν ἐνθάδε κειμένων ἀνδρῶν ἀρετήν;
μετὰ πλείστων γὰρ πόνων καὶ φανερωτάτων ἀγώ- 55
νων καὶ καλλίστων κινδύνων ἐλευθέραν μὲν ἐποίη-
σαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, μεγίστην δ' ἀπέδειξαν τὴν
ἑαυτῶν πατρίδα, ἑβδομήκοντα μὲν ἔτη τῆς θα-
λάττης ἄρξαντες, ἀστασιάστους δὲ παρασχόντες
τοὺς συμμάχους, οὐ τοῖς ὀλίγοις τοὺς πολλοὺς 56

δουλεύειν ἀξιώσαντες, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἴσον ἔχειν ἅπαντας ἀναγκάσαντες, οὐδὲ τοὺς συμμάχους ἀσθενεῖς ποιοῦντες, ἀλλὰ κἀκείνους ἰσχυροὺς καθιστάντες, καὶ τὴν αὑτῶν δύναμιν τοσαύτην ἐπιδείξαντες, ὥσθ' ὁ μέγας βασιλεὺς οὐκέτι τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπεθύμει, ἀλλ' ἐδίδου τῶν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ περὶ τῶν
57 λοιπῶν ἐφοβεῖτο, καὶ οὔτε τριήρεις ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἔπλευσαν, οὔτε τύραννος ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησι κατέστη, οὔτε Ἑλληνὶς πόλις ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἠνδραποδίσθη· τοσαύτην σωφροσύνην καὶ δέος ἡ τούτων ἀρετὴ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις παρεῖχεν. ὧν ἕνεκα δεῖ μόνους καὶ προστάτας τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ ἡγεμόνας τῶν πόλεων γίγνεσθαι.

58 Ἐπέδειξαν δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς δυστυχίαις τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀρετήν. ἀπολομένων γὰρ τῶν νεῶν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ εἴτε ἡγεμόνος κακίᾳ εἴτε θεῶν διανοίᾳ, καὶ συμφορᾶς ἐκείνης μεγίστης γενομένης καὶ ἡμῖν τοῖς δυστυχήσασι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησιν, ἐδήλωσαν οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ ὕστερον ὅτι ἡ τῆς πόλεως
59 δύναμις τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἦν σωτηρία. ἑτέρων γὰρ ἡγεμόνων γενομένων ἐνίκησαν μὲν ναυμαχοῦντες τοὺς Ἕλληνας οἱ πρότερον εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν οὐκ ἐμβαίνοντες, ἔπλευσαν δ' εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην, δουλεύουσι δὲ πόλεις τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τύραννοι δ' ἐγκαθεστᾶσιν, οἱ μὲν μετὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν συμφοράν, οἱ
60 δὲ μετὰ τὴν νίκην τῶν βαρβάρων. ὥστ' ἄξιον ἦν ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ τάφῳ τότε κείρασθαι τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ

πενθῆσαι τοὺς ἐνθάδε κειμένους, ὡς συγκαταθαπτομένης τῆς αὐτῶν ἐλευθερίας τῇ τούτων ἀρετῇ· ὡς δυστυχὴς μὲν ἡ Ἑλλὰς τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν ὀρφανὴ γενομένη, εὐτυχὴς δ' ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεὺς ἑτέρων ἡγεμόνων λαβόμενος· τῇ μὲν γὰρ τούτων στερηθείσῃ δουλεία περιέστηκε, τῷ δ' ἄλλων ἀρξάντων ζῆλος ἐγγίνεται, τῆς τῶν προγόνων διανοίας.

Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐξήχθην ὑπὲρ πάσης ὀλο- 61
φύρασθαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος· ἐκείνων δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἄξιον καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ μεμνῆσθαι, οἳ φεύγοντες τὴν δουλείαν καὶ περὶ τοῦ δικαίου μαχόμενοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς δημοκρατίας στασιάσαντες, πάντας πολεμίους κεκτημένοι εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατῆλθον, οὐχ ὑπὸ νόμου ἀναγκασθέντες, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως πεισθέντες, καινοῖς κινδύνοις τὴν παλαιὰν ἀρετὴν τῶν προγόνων μιμησάμενοι, ταῖς 62
αὐτῶν ψυχαῖς κοινὴν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις κτησάμενοι, θάνατον μετ' ἐλευθερίας αἱρούμενοι ἢ βίον μετὰ δουλείας, οὐχ ἧττον ταῖς συμφοραῖς αἰσχυνόμενοι ἢ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὀργιζόμενοι, μᾶλλον βουληθέντες ἐν τῇ αὐτῶν ἀποθνήσκειν ἢ ζῆν τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν οἰκοῦντες, συμμάχους μὲν ὅρκους καὶ συνθήκας ἔχοντες, πολεμίους δὲ τοὺς πρότερον ὑπάρχοντας καὶ τοὺς πολίτας τοὺς ἑαυτῶν. ἀλλ' 63
ὅμως οὐ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐναντίων φοβηθέντες, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς σώμασι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν κινδυνεύσαντες, τρόπαιον μὲν τῶν πολεμίων ἔστησαν, μάρτυρας δὲ

τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρετῆς ἐγγὺς ὄντας τοῦδε τοῦ μνήματος τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων τάφους παρέχονται. καὶ γάρ τοι μεγάλην μὲν ἀντὶ μικρᾶς ἀπέδειξαν τὴν πόλιν, ὁμονοοῦσαν δὲ ἀντὶ στασιαζούσης ἀπέφηναν, τεί-
64 χη δὲ ἀντὶ τῶν καθῃρημένων ἀνέστησαν. οἱ δὲ κατελθόντες αὐτῶν, ἀδελφὰ τὰ βουλεύματα τοῖς ἔργοις τῶν ἐνθάδε κειμένων ἐπιδεικνύντες, οὐκ ἐπὶ τιμωρίαν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σωτηρίαν τῆς πόλεως ἐτράποντο, καὶ οὔτ' ἐλαττοῦσθαι δυνάμενοι οὔτ' αὐτοὶ πλέον ἔχειν δεόμενοι τῆς μὲν αὐτῶν ἐλευθερίας καὶ τοῖς βουλομένοις δουλεύειν μετέδοσαν, τῆς δ' ἐκείνων δουλείας αὐτοὶ μετέχειν οὐκ
65 ἠξίωσαν. ἔργοις δὲ μεγίστοις καὶ καλλίστοις ἀπελογήσαντο, ὅτι οὐ κακίᾳ τῇ αὐτῶν οὐδ' ἀρετῇ τῶν πολεμίων πρότερον ἐδυστύχησεν ἡ πόλις· εἰ γὰρ στασιάσαντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους βίᾳ παρόντων Πελοποννησίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐχθρῶν εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν οἷοί τε ἐγίνοντο κατελθεῖν, δῆλον ὅτι ῥᾳδίως ἂν ὁμονοοῦντες πολεμεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐδύναντο.

66 Ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν διὰ τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ κινδύνους ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ζηλοῦνται· ἄξιον δὲ καὶ τοὺς ξένους τοὺς ἐνθάδε κειμένους ἐπαινέσαι, οἳ τῷ πλήθει βοηθήσαντες καὶ περὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας σωτηρίας μαχόμενοι, πατρίδα τὴν ἀρετὴν ἡγησάμενοι, τοιαύτην τοῦ βίου τελευτὴν ἐποιήσαντο· ἀνθ' ὧν ἡ πόλις αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπένθησε καὶ ἔθαψε δημοσίᾳ, καὶ ἔδωκεν ἔχειν αὐτοῖς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον τὰς αὐτὰς τιμὰς τοῖς ἀστοῖς.

Οἱ δὲ νῦν θαπτόμενοι, βοηθήσαντες Κορινθίοις 67
ὑπὸ παλαιῶν φίλων ἀδικουμένοις καινοὶ σύμμαχοι
γενόμενοι, οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην Λακεδαιμονίοις
ἔχοντες (οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῖς ἐφθόνουν,
οἱ δὲ ἀδικουμένους αὐτοὺς ἠλέουν, οὐ τῆς προτέ-
ρας ἔχθρας μεμνημένοι, ἀλλὰ τὴν παροῦσαν φι-
λίαν περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενοι) πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις
φανερὰν τὴν αὑτῶν ἀρετὴν ἐπεδείξαντο. ἐτόλμη- 68
σαν γὰρ μεγάλην ποιοῦντες τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὐ μόνον
ὑπὲρ τῆς αὑτῶν σωτηρίας κινδυνεύειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἐλευθερίας ἀποθνήσκειν·
τοῖς γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίων συμμάχοις περὶ τῆς ἐκεί-
νων ἐλευθερίας ἐμάχοντο. νικήσαντες μὲν γὰρ
ἐκείνους τῶν αὑτῶν ἠξίουν, δυστυχήσαντες δὲ βέ-
βαιον ἂν τὴν δουλείαν τοῖς ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ
κατέλιπον.

Ἐκείνοις μὲν οὖν οὕτω διακειμένοις ὁ βίος 69
οἰκτρὸς καὶ ὁ θάνατος εὔκτός· οὗτοι δὲ καὶ ζῶν-
τες καὶ ἀποθανόντες ζηλωτοί, παιδευθέντες μὲν ἐν
τοῖς τῶν προγόνων ἀγαθοῖς, ἄνδρες δὲ γενόμενοι
τήν τε ἐκείνων δόξαν διασώσαντες καὶ τὴν αὑτῶν
ἀρετὴν ἐπιδείξαντες. πολλῶν μὲν γὰρ καὶ καλῶν 70
αἴτιοι γεγένηνται τῇ ἑαυτῶν πατρίδι, ἐπηνώρθω-
σαν δὲ τὰ ὑφ' ἑτέρων δυστυχηθέντα, πόρρω δ'
ἀπὸ τῆς αὑτῶν τὸν πόλεμον κατέστησαν. ἐτελεύ-
τησαν δὲ τὸν βίον, ὥσπερ χρὴ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς
ἀποθνήσκειν, τῇ μὲν γὰρ πατρίδι τὰ τροφεῖα
ἀποδόντες, τοῖς δὲ θρέψασι λύπας καταλιπόντες.

71 ὥστε ἄξιον τοῖς ζῶσι τούτους ποθεῖν καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὀλοφύρεσθαι καὶ τοὺς προσήκοντας αὐτῶν ἐλεεῖν τοῦ ἐπιλοίπου βίου. τίς γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἔτι ἡδονὴ καταλείπεται τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν θαπτομένων, οἳ πάντα περὶ ἐλάττονος τῆς ἀρετῆς ἡγούμενοι αὐτοὺς μὲν ἀπεστέρησαν βίου, χήρας δὲ γυναῖκας ἐποίησαν, ὀρφανοὺς δὲ τοὺς αὑτῶν παῖδας ἀπέλιπον, ἐρήμους δ' ἀδελφοὺς καὶ πατέρας καὶ μητέ-
72 ρας κατέστησαν; Πολλῶν δὲ καὶ δεινῶν ὑπαρχόντων τοὺς μὲν παῖδας αὐτῶν ζηλῶ, ὅτι νεώτεροί εἰσιν ἢ ὥστε εἰδέναι οἵων πατέρων ἐστέρηνται, ἐξ ὧν δ' οὗτοι γεγόνασιν, οἰκτείρω, ὅτι πρεσβύτεροι ἢ ὥστε ἐπιλαθέσθαι τῆς δυστυχίας τῆς
73 ἑαυτῶν. τί γὰρ ἂν τούτων ἀνιαρότερον γένοιτο, ἢ τεκεῖν μὲν καὶ θρέψαι [καὶ θάψαι] τοὺς αὑτῶν, ἐν δὲ τῷ γήρᾳ ἀδυνάτους μὲν εἶναι τῷ σώματι, πασῶν δ' ἀπεστερημένους τῶν ἐλπίδων ἀφίλους καὶ ἀπόρους γεγονέναι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν πρότερον ζηλοῦσθαι καὶ νῦν ἐλεεῖσθαι, ποθεινότερον δ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι τὸν θάνατον τοῦ βίου; ὅσῳ γὰρ ἄνδρες ἀμείνους ἦσαν, τοσούτῳ τοῖς καταλειπομέ-
74 νοις τὸ πένθος μεῖζον. πῶς δ' αὐτοὺς χρὴ λῆξαι τῆς λύπης; πότερον ἐν ταῖς τῆς πόλεως συμφοραῖς; ἀλλὰ τότε αὐτῶν εἰκὸς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους μεμνῆσθαι. ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς εὐτυχίαις ταῖς κοιναῖς; ἀλλ' ἱκανὸν λυπῆσαι, τῶν μὲν σφετέρων τέκνων τετελευτηκότων, τῶν δὲ ζώντων ἀπολανόντων τῆς τούτων ἀρετῆς. ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις κινδύνοις, ὅταν

ὁρῶσι τοὺς μὲν πρότερον ὄντας φίλους φεύγοντας τὴν αὐτῶν ἀπορίαν, τοὺς δ' ἐχθροὺς μέγα φρονοῦντας ἐπὶ ταῖς δυστυχίαις ταῖς τούτων; Μόνην 75
δ' ἄν μοι δοκοῦμεν ταύτην τοῖς ἐνθάδε κειμένοις ἀποδοῦναι χάριν, εἰ τοὺς μὲν τοκέας αὐτῶν ὁμοίως ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνοι περὶ πολλοῦ ποιοίμεθα, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας οὕτως ἀσπαζοίμεθα ὥσπερ αὐτοὶ πατέρες ὄντες, ταῖς δὲ γυναιξὶν εἰ τοιούτους βοηθοὺς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς παρέχοιμεν, οἷοίπερ ἐκεῖνοι ζῶντες ἦσαν. τίνας γὰρ ἂν εἰκότως μᾶλλον τιμῷμεν τῶν ἐνθάδε 76
κειμένων; τίνας δ' ἂν τῶν ζώντων δικαιότερον περὶ πολλοῦ ποιοίμεθα ἢ τοὺς τούτοις προσήκοντας, οἳ τῆς μὲν τούτων ἀρετῆς τὸ ἴσον τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπέλαυσαν, ἀποθανόντων δὲ μόνοι γνησίως τῆς δυστυχίας μετέχουσιν.

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι δεῖ τοιαῦτα ὀλοφύρε- 77
σθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἐλανθάνομεν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὄντες θνητοί· ὥστε τί δεῖ, ἃ πάλαι προσεδοκῶμεν πείσεσθαι, ὑπὲρ τούτων νῦν ἄχθεσθαι, ἢ λίαν οὕτω βαρέως φέρειν ἐπὶ ταῖς τῆς φύσεως συμφοραῖς, ἐπισταμένους ὅτι ὁ θάνατος κοινὸς καὶ τοῖς χειρίστοις καὶ τοῖς βελτίστοις; οὔτε γὰρ τοὺς πονηροὺς ὑπερορᾷ οὔτε τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς θαυμάζει, ἀλλ' ἴσον ἑαυτὸν παρέχει πᾶσιν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ οἷόν τε 78
ἦν τοῖς τοὺς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ κινδύνους διαφυγοῦσιν ἀθανάτους εἶναι τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον, ἄξιον τοῖς ζῶσι τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον πενθεῖν τοὺς τεθνεῶτας· νῦν δὲ ἥ τε φύσις καὶ νόσων ἤττων καὶ γήρως,

ὅ τε δαίμων ὁ τὴν ἡμετέραν μοῖραν εἰληχὼς ἀπα-
79 ραίτητος. ὥστε προσήκει τούτους εὐδαιμονεστάτους ἡγεῖσθαι, οἵτινες ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων καὶ καλλίστων κινδυνεύσαντες οὕτω τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησαν, οὐκ ἐπιτρέψαντες περὶ αὐτῶν τῇ τύχῃ, οὐδ' ἀναμείναντες τὸν αὐτόματον θάνατον, ἀλλ' ἐκλεξάμενοι τὸν κάλλιστον. καὶ γάρ τοι ἀγήρατοι μὲν αὐτῶν αἱ μνῆμαι, ζηλωταὶ δὲ ὑπὸ πάν-
80 των ἀνθρώπων αἱ τιμαί· οἳ πενθοῦνται μὲν διὰ τὴν φύσιν ὡς θνητοί, ὑμνοῦνται δὲ ὡς ἀθάνατοι διὰ τὴν ἀρετήν. καὶ γάρ τοι θάπτονται δημοσίᾳ, καὶ ἀγῶνες τίθενται ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ῥώμης καὶ σοφίας καὶ πλούτου, ὡς ἀξίους ὄντας τοὺς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τετελευτηκότας ταῖς αὐταῖς τιμαῖς καὶ τοὺς ἀθα-
81 νάτους τιμᾶσθαι. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν αὐτοὺς καὶ μακαρίζω τοῦ θανάτου καὶ ζηλῶ, καὶ μόνοις τούτοις ἀνθρώπων οἶμαι κρεῖττον εἶναι γενέσθαι, οἵτινες, ἐπειδὴ θνητῶν σωμάτων ἔτυχον, ἀθάνατον μνήμην διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν κατέλιπον· ὅμως δ' ἀνάγκη τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἔθεσι χρῆσθαι, καὶ θεραπεύοντας τὸν πάτριον νόμον ὀλοφύρεσθαι τοὺς θαπτομένους.

NOTES.

ABBREVIATIONS.

adv. ..... adverb, adverbial, etc.
agr. ..... agree, agreeing, etc.
cl. ..... clause.
Class. Dict. .... Anthon's Classical Dictionary.
dep. ..... depend, dependent, etc.
Dict. Ant. .... Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, 3d Amer. Ed.
Dict. Geog. .... Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography.
ed., edd. . .... editor, edition, and the plural.
equiv. ..... equivalent.
foll. ..... follow, following, etc.
Frohb. .... Frohberger.
G. ..... Goodwin's Greek Grammar.
Gr. Moods .... Goodwin's Greek Moods and Tenses.
H. ..... Hadley's Greek Grammar.
ind. disc. ..... indirect discourse.
introd. ..... introduce, introducing, etc.; also, Introduction.
Kühn. ..... Kühner's Greek Grammar; Edwards and Taylor's translation.
L. & S. ..... Liddell and Scott's Greek Lexicon; the 6th Ed., when referred to, is expressly named.
lit. ..... literal, literally.
part., partt. .... participle, participles.
pred. ..... predicate.
Publ. Econ. ... Bœckh's Public Economy of the Athenians; Lamb's translation.
Rauch. ..... Rauchenstein.
ref. ..... refer, referring, etc.
rel. ..... relative.
sent. ..... sentence.
syn. ... . synonym, synonymous, etc.
tr. ..... translate.
West. ..... Westermann.

NOTES ON ORATION XII.

In connection with Orations XII. and XIII. the student should read, if possible, Chap. LXV. in Grote's *History of Greece*, "From the Battle of Arginusæ to the Restoration of the Democracy of Athens after the Expulsion of the Thirty"; also Chap. I. Book V. of Curtius's *History of Greece*, "Athens under the Thirty." The articles "Dicasterion" and "Dicastes," in *Dict. Ant.*, explain briefly the constitution of the Athenian Heliastic courts; see also Grote, Vol. IV., p. 140 *seq.*, and Vol. V., p. 378 *seq.* In the title ὅν has λόγος understood for its anteced.

1. **ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί**, *judges;* Eng. *gentlemen of the jury;* H. 500, a. As to the use of **ἄνδρες**, see the faulty rendering in the Eng. version of *Acts* vii. 2; **κατηγ.**: H. 574, b; G. 171. — **παυσ. λέγοντι**, *to leave off speaking;* H. 798, 2; G. 279, 1. The part. agr. with **μοί** instead of the subj. of **παυσ.**, H. 776, 3; G. 138, N. 8. — **αὐτοῖς**: H. 600; G. 188, 3; **μέγεθος, πλῆθος**: acc. of specif.; **εἰργ.** (ἐργάζομαι): passive, as also in § 37. — **ὥστε...κατ.**, *so that not even if one should utter falsehood would he be able to bring more terrible accusations than the existing ones;* **ἄν** belongs with **δύνασθαι**. On **ψευδ.**, see H. 789, e; G. 277, 4. — **εἰπεῖν** has **τἀλ.** for its obj. and is understood with **ἅπαντα**. — **ἀνάγκη**: subj. of (ἐστί), and having the foll. infinitives dep. on it; tr. *on the contrary, either the accuser must fail from exhaustion, or the time run short.*

2. **παισ.** (πάσχω), *to be about to experience the opposite of* (what we have experienced in) *times past;* **ἐναντ.** has a compar. force, hence foll. by **ἤ**, *than;* **πρὸ τοῦ**, *before this, former*, here used as adj.; cf. H. 525, d; G. 143, 2. The contrast referred to is explained in what follows, i. e. there is on this occasion no need for the accuser to explain the motive of the prosecution, *the occasion of enmity* (ἔχθραν). In **τὴν ἔχθ.**, notice the prolepsis, H. 726. The terms usually applied to parties in a trial are:

ὁ διώκων, *the prosecutor, the complainant;* cf. in Scotch law "pursuer."

ὁ κατηγορῶν, *the accuser*, he who makes the accusing speech.

ὁ φεύγων, *the accused, the defendant.*

— **εἴη**: opt. of ind. disc., H. 736; G. 242, 1. — **ἥτις...ἐχ.**, *what ground of enmity they had towards the state.* — **ἀνθ' ὅτου...ἐτολ.**, *that they dared;*

a causal clause, this rel. phrase being freq. used as a causal conj. — **τοὺς λ. ποιοῦμαι**, *I make my plea, speak what I have to say*; **ποιοῦμαι**, mid., is thus freq. used in the Attic orators as syn. with **λέγω**; see XXII. 1, 3, 13 *et al.* **ὡς** is used with the part. to denote an assigned or supposed cause: *not, however, that I argue as one who is without private grievances and injuries*, H. 795, e; G. 277, N. 2. — **ὀργῇ**, dep. on **ἀφθον.**; freely, *as if all had abundant reason to be indignant.*

3. **οὔτε...πράξας**, *having never conducted a case either for myself or another*; **πράγματα**, *business*, here, as often in judicial orations, has specific ref. to business in court, hence *a cause, a case.* The fact here stated is for us the special point of interest in the introduction. The rest is in the routine style common to the judicial oratory of the time. — **κατέστην**, being used with **πολλάκις**, is better rendered by our perfect, H. 706. — **μὴ...ποιήσωμαι**: H. 743; G. 218. — **ὡς...ἐλαχ.**, *as briefly as I can*; an adv. cl. dep. on **διδάξαι**, H. 758; G. 232, 3. — **διδάξαι**, *to inform you* (of the facts); the latter object of the verb is easily supplied from the context, and thus omitted in the Greek.

4. **οὐμός**: H. 68 and Rem. b; G. 11, N. 1; cf. **τοὐναντίον**, above. — **οὐδενί**, after **ἐδικ.** as indir. obj., *either bring suit against any one or sustain a suit.* This was much to say in the Athens of that time. Notice the current judicial phrases: **δίκην τινὶ δικάζεσθαι**, *to bring any one to trial*; **δίκην φεύγειν**, *to be brought to trial.* — **δημοκρ.**, temporal, *while the democracy continued*, that is, up to the time of the overthrow of the democratic constitution by the Thirty.

5. **κατέστησαν**, 2d aor., *were placed* in office; **μέν** and **δέ** serve to contrast the two participial phrases, both used attributively. — **καθαρὰν, κ. τ. λ.**, *to purify the state*, a fair phrase to gloss foul work; doubtless well worn in the mouths of the revolutionists. Their method of purification is but too well known to the student of this period of Athenian history. Revolutions in other Greek states were attended with even greater cruelties. Observe the pres. tense of the part., denoting its repetition. — **πολίτας**: subj. of **τραπέσθαι.** — **λέγοντες** resumes the preceding with an adversative force, *although they said*; **οὐ...ποιεῖν ἐτόλμων**, *they were not the men to do*; **τολμᾶν** and **τλῆναι** foll. by an infin. have a variety of meanings similar to this, depending on the connection in which they are used: *to have the spirit to, to bring one's self to*, etc. See L. & S. — **ἀναμνῆσαι**: (**ἀναμιμνήσκω**).

6. Theognis, mentioned by Xenophon as one of the Thirty, was also a tragic poet. We know him mainly by what Lysias here recounts, and by Aristophanes's ridicule of his frigid and dreary iambics. Of Piso little is known save his membership in the Thirty and the events here related. **γάρ**: epexegetic, generally to be omitted in Eng. — **ἐν τοῖς τριάκοντα**, *in the sessions of the Thirty.* — **εἶεν**: H. 736; G. 243. — **τῇ πολιτείᾳ**, *the*

administration, i. e. the existing form of government. — **καλλίστην...πρόφασιν**, *that there was, therefore, a most excellent pretext;* **δοκεῖν** and **χρημ.** depend on **πρόφασιν**, H. 767; G. 261, 1. — **πάντως δέ**, *but at any rate.*

7. περὶ οὐδενὸς ἡγοῦντο, *they considered of no consequence;* **περὶ...ἡγεῖσθαι** and **περὶ...ποιεῖσθαι** are syn. expressions, see Lex. **περί**; **περί** is used thus with certain genitives to denote estimated worth, e. g. **πολλοῦ, πλείονος, πλείστου, ἐλάττονος**; cf. Jelf, 632, 2, g. — **ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς**, *they resolved therefore.* — **αὐτοῖς**, poss. dat., tr. *that they might have*, etc.; for **ᾖ** in subj. see H. 740, a; G. 216, 2. — **πέπρακται, γεγένηται**: render by the Eng. pluperf. Why? — **ὥσπερ...πεποιηκότες**: the part. agrees with the logical subj. implied in **αὐτοῖς ᾖ** = **ἔχωσι**, H. 886; cf. Krüger, 56, 9, 4; tr. *as if they had done anything else justifiably;* **εὐλόγως**, *justifiably, with any good reason to show for it.*

8. διαλαβόντες, simply *having assigned*, or, *allotted*, that is, those to which they should go; no special ref. to the appropriation to their own use, as if it were an indir. mid. — **ἐβάδιζον**, *they went their way.* — **ἱστιῶντα**: H. 799; G. 279, 1. **καταλαμβάνω** is often used in the sense of *to come upon, meet, find;* cf. §§ 13 and 31. — **τὸ ἐργαστ.**, *the factory*, i. e. *ours;* H. 527, d; G. 141, N. 2. This was the shield manufactory, and connected with Lysias's dwelling in the Piræus. Not less than 120 slaves were employed in it at the time, as will be observed in the narrative farther on. — **βούλοιτο**: indir. qu., H. 733, 736; G. 243. What would the direct form be? — **εἰ πολλὰ εἴη**, (that he would) *if there were much;* changed from the direct form **ἐὰν...ᾖ**, because after a verb of past time.

9, 10. ἠπιστάμην μὲν οὖν, *now I knew*, etc. — **νομίζει**, *that he regarded;* H. 735; G. 243. — **λαβεῖν**: subj. of **εἶναι**; H. 763; G. 259. — **ἐπαράμενος** (**ἐπαράομαι**): *imprecating;* used adv. to state a circumstance additional to **ὤμοσεν**, H. 788: G. 277, 2. — **λαβών** may be taken as used conditionally, *if he should receive*, or, *on condition of receiving.* — **τὸ τάλαντον**: **τό** defines **τάλαντον** as something previously referred to; cf. H. 527, a. The student should notice carefully the various uses of the article in this section. — **κιβωτός**, *chest;* the Eng. word *ark*, e. g. Noah's ark, the ark of the covenant, is **κιβωτός** in the Greek of the *Septuagint* and the *N. T.*

11. οὐκ...ὡμολογ.: notice the position of the neg.; it belongs to the rel. cl. and is to be tr. *not only*, as the foll. **ἀλλά** shows. — **κυζικηνούς**, *Cyzicenes, staters of Cyzicus*, a gold currency named from the place where minted. Give the deriv. of **δαρεικούς**. Estimating the silver drachma as = about 20 cents, we may reckon the Attic talent roundly as = $1200. The Cyzicene gold piece = 28 drachmas; the Daric, a little more. The entire sum seized amounted therefore to more than $6400. How large a sum this was at that time may be understood by a comparison of prices as given in Bœckh's *Publ. Econ.*, Ch. X. *seq.* Prices were higher in Athens

than anywhere else in Greece, but even there it is estimated that $25 would meet the year's outlay for an economical citizen for food, clothes, and house-rent. An ox could be bought for from $10 to $20; wheat in Lysias's time probably averaged over two drachmæ per bushel. For convenience is subjoined the following

TABLE OF ATTIC MONEY.

1 Chalcûs	=		less than	¼ cent.
8 Chalci	=	1 Obolus,	about	3½ cents.
6 Oboli	=	1 Drachma,	"	20 "
100 Drachmæ	=	1 Mina,	"	$20.
60 Minæ	=	1 Talent,	"	$1200.

Cf. *Dict. Ant.*, "Aes," "Drachma," "Talent." — **φιάλας**, *goblets;* hence our "vial," a differently shaped vessel. The Greek *φιάλη* was a broad-mouthed drinking-vessel. — **ἀγαπήσειν...σώσω**: in the direct form both verbs would be indic. fut.; as if: *you will get off well, if you save*, etc.

12. **πρὸς...θύραις**, *just at the gate;* this was the main entrance to both the house and factory. Melobios and Mnesithides, leaving the factory, met them as they were coming from Lysias's dwelling. These two were also members of the Thirty. — **ὅπῃ β.**, *where we are going.* What would the direct form be in Greek? — **εἰς...ἐμοῦ**, *to my brother's;* H. 509, b, β; cf. G. 141, N. 4. The idiom in Eng. is the same as in Greek; cf. *εἰς Δαμνίππου*, below. Frohb. has *εἰς τὰ τοῦ, κ. τ. λ.*, *to my brother's place.* — **σκέψηται**; H. 740, a; G. 216, 2. Coming to plunder, they called it "*search.*" — **βαδίζειν**: as in § 8.

13. **προσελθὼν...μοι παρεκ.**, *came to me and exhorted me.* In many such cases the Greek part. is equiv. to a co-ordinate verb in Eng. It is the circumstantial part. denoting a preliminary or attendant action. In tr. it should be observed how often our language replaces the Greek part. by a finite verb or clause. — **ὡς...ἐκεῖσε**, *since he was to come there;* the part. is *causal*, and *ὡς* represents the exhortation as founded on what was in the mind of the speaker. — **ᾧ...ᾤχοντο**, *to whom they delivered me and were off again;* H. 698; G. 200, N. 3. — **ἐν τοιούτῳ**, *in such* (peril); **κινδυνεύειν**, *to risk something, to run some risk;* it has an indef. object. — **ὡς...ἤδη**, *considering that death certainly was already at hand;* the infin. is used as subst. with the art. in gen. abs.; the part. denotes cause; *ὡς* is used as above.

14. **τάδε**, *as follows;* notice the succession of abrupt clauses spoken in haste and terror. — **τὴν σήν**: H. 538, c; cf. *τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ ἐμοῦ*, above. — **ταῦτα πάσχοντί μοι**, *now that I am suffering these things;* **πρόθυμον** usually is an adj. applied to persons, here agrees with *δυν.*; render freely: *zealously do what is in your power.* — **μνησθῆναι**, *to mention;* this aor., it

will be remembered, has a mid. meaning. — **διδοίη** : indir. form for the subj. with *ἐάν*, H. 738; G. 247; **ἅπαν**, *everything, anything*, used in a distributive sense, as *πᾶν* in § 84. The reader will perhaps recall little Paul's question in *Dombey and Son:* "Money, Paul, can do anything." "Anything means everything, does n't it, Papa?"

15. **οἰκίας** : after *ἔμπειρος*, H. 584, c; G. 180, 1; *γάρ* here does not introduce a reason for what goes before, but a parenthetical explanation of what follows : *now I happened*, etc.; **ἀμφίθ.** : with a rear as well as a front entrance. — **ταύτῃ**, *in this way*, i. e. availing himself of this result of his own observation, rather than of the intervention of Damnippus. — **ἐὰν**...**σωθήσομαι** : this cond. sent. retains its direct form; then a new constr. begins with the infinitives *ἀφεθησ.* and *ἀποθαν.* dep. on *ἡγούμην*. The analysis of it may be represented as follows :

ἡγούμην δέ, ἐὰν ληφθῶ, { *εἰ μὲν*...*λαβεῖν, οὐδὲν ἧττον ἀφεθήσεσθαι* / *εἰ δὲ μή, ὁμοίως ἀποθανεῖσθαι.*

— **ἀφεθήσεσθαι** (*ἀφίημι*), *that I should none the less be released.*

16. **τὴν φ. ποιουμ.**, *keeping guard.* The *αὔλειος θύρα* is the front entrance to the house, usually a folding door, opening into the vestibule or covered way leading to the court. See *Dict. Ant.*, "House (Greek)," and the diagram there given. Of the three doors mentioned in the next sentence, two were inside and one a rear door communicating with the street. — **οὐσῶν** : the circumst. part., equiv. to a parenthetic cl. of preliminary explanation; **ἃς**...**διελθεῖν**, *which I had to pass through;* **ἀνεῳγ.** (*ἀνοίγνυμι*) : H. 801, 5; G. 279, 2. — **εἰς Ἀρχ.** : cf. *εἰς Δαμνίππου*, § 12; **ἄστυ** : art. omitted; H. 530, b. Ref. to the upper city, it has the force of a proper name, as e. g. "The City," now only a part of London. — **ἀπαγάγοι**, *has led.*

17. **Μεγαράδε** : H. 203; G. 61. — **τὸ**...**παράγγελμα**, *their customary notice;* **ὑπ' ἐκείνων**, lit. *by them*, is after an implied pass. (*παραγγέλεσθαι*) dep. on the part. Some edd. have it *ἐπ' ἐκείνων*. The cup of hemlock-juice was in Athens the usual means of inflicting capital punishment upon citizens; it is implied here that when a warrant was served by the Thirty it was usually a death-warrant. Cf. note on § 96. — **πρὶν**...**εἰπεῖν** : dep. on *παρήγγειλαν*; H. 769; G. 274. — **οὕτω**...**ἀπολογ.**, *so much did he lack*, or, more freely, *so far was he* from being tried, etc. The infinitives after *ἐδέησε* take the place of an obj. acc.

18. **οἰκῶν** : H. 790, e; G. 277, 5. How much stress was laid on funeral ceremonies in Athens may be seen from Becker's *Charicles*, Excursus on "Burials." The corpse, arrayed in white, usually lay for one day before burial in the front part of the house. The terms designating the laying-out (*πρόθεσις*) and the funeral procession (*ἐκφορά*) correspond to the

verbs here used. — **αἰτοῦσιν**: not the same as *τοῖς αἰτοῦσιν*, but agr. with *αὐτοῖς* understood, referring to the friends mentioned afterwards, *to his friends who requested them.* — **ὁ δὲ...ἔτυχεν**: sc. *δούς* governing *ὅτι*: may be rendered *and each of the others contributed as it happened;* the last obj. of *ἔδωκεν* is the clause.

19. **τῶν ἡμετέρων**, probably neut., *of our property;* H. 496; G. 139, 1. — **χαλκόν**: for use in the shield factory. — **ὅσα...κτήσασθαι**, *more than they ever thought of getting;* notice the Greek idiom *as many as never*, for *more than ever;* it is found in Demos. *Olynth.*, I. 9 and 19, and frequently elsewhere; *κτήσασθαι* is a timeless infin., neither the time nor the duration of the action being thought of; cf. *Gr. Moods*, § 23, 1; H. 716. — **εἰς τοσαύτην...ἀφίκοντο**, *went so far in their greed*, etc.; it is foll. by **καὶ...ἐποιήσαντο**, *that they made*, etc., which is equiv. to a cl. of conseq., though grammatically co-ordinate; **γάρ** then introduces an explanatory instance, justifying the assertion. Frohb. takes a different view of this constr., as also of XIII. 80, making the cl. of conseq. implied by *τοσαύτην* to be introd. afterwards by *γάρ*. — **ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον**, *as soon as;* cf. Lat. *quum primum;* does this clause limit the preceding or the following verb? — **ὤτων**: H. 165; 202, 13; G. 60, 5; 25, 3. — The outrage by Melobius, if we may trust Lysias's statement, does indeed illustrate the way things were done under the Thirty, and the personal traits of at least one of these *καλοὶ κἀγαθοί*. Still more worth attention is the hurried inventory here given of the personal property found on the estate of a wealthy Athenian resident. A large part of it consisted of slave workmen. Thus also the father of Demosthenes owned fifty slaves, mostly employed in the sword factory. The institutions and social life of the Athenian state can be but imperfectly comprehended by one who does not bear in mind that it was mainly a community of slaves. According to the census of the population of Attica taken about three centuries B. C., there were 21,000 free citizens, 10,000 resident foreigners, and 400,000 slaves. Concerning the price and treatment of slaves, interesting details will be found in Becker's *Charicles*, Excursus VII. Closely connected with this state of things was the growing contempt of manual labor and trade by the Athenians and Greeks generally, as unworthy of a freeman, — a contempt which in the time of the Roman dominion set them to living by their wits, and made them the sharpers and adventurers of the ancient world.

20, 21. **κατά**, *in respect to;* **ἔλεον**: H. 574, c; G. 171, 1. — **οὐκ ἄν** belong with an opt. understood, *as others would not have done;* **ἔχοντες** contains the condition implied by *ἄν*, and the phrase may be rendered, *had they been indignant at*, or, *on account of indignation at.* — **οὐ...ὄντας**, *who certainly did not deserve this;* a falling circumflex on *deserve* will show the kind of emphasis intended by *γέ*. — **πόλει**: after **ἄξιος**; H. 601; G. 184, 5. The

foll. partt. are attrib., like **ὄντας**. Notice the appropriate difference of their tenses. The services here mentioned were the chief civil functions devolving upon a wealthy Athenian in private life; they are often referred to in orations. As to what the choregy, *the maintenance of a chorus*, was, see *Dict. Ant.*, "Choragus." — **κεκτημένους**: H. 712; G. 200, N. 6. — Then follows the abrupt exclamation, — notice the absence of a connective, — *such treatment did they deem us worthy of;* **μετοικ.** agr. with **ἡμᾶς** understood after **ἠξ.**, lit. *not being metics in like manner as*, etc.; the thought is, *we* served the state better as resident-foreigners, than *they* did as citizens. — **ἀτάφους ἐποίησαν**: why was it considered one of the greatest of crimes among the Greeks to leave the dead unburied? See *Dict. Ant.*, "Funus." — **ἀτίμους...κατεστ.**, *deprived of the rights of citizenship, disfranchised;* **πόλεως**: H. 584, b; G. 180, N. 1.

22. τόλμης: H. 559, c; G. 168. — **ἥκουσιν ἀπ.**, *they are here to defend themselves;* that is, in the person of Eratosthenes and his advocates. — **ἐβουλόμην ἄν**: H. 752; *Gr. Moods*, 52, 2; cf. also 49, N. 3, c. *And I would that they were speaking the truth;* **ἐγώ** is emphatic; **ἐβουλόμην ἄν** (often with **ἄν** omitted), almost exactly corresponds to the Eng. *would*, pret. of *will*, that is used to express a present wish for that which is not or cannot be. — **μέρος**: subj. of **μετῆν**, which is not impers. here; *for* (in that case) *the largest share...would fall*, etc.; no one would have been benefited more than myself, had they refrained from the crimes charged against them. See Jelf's *Greek Grammar*, 535, Obs. 1, for a fuller explanation of the construction here employed.

23. γῦν δέ, *but as it is;* cf. § 29; so **νυνί**, XIII. 22. — **αὐτοῖς...ὑπ.**, *neither...do such things belong to them as regards the city*, etc., i. e. they are not entitled to any such plea. — **ἀπέκτεινεν**, *killed*, was the means of his death; the word as used in the Attic courts allowed this latitude. — **προθύμως ἐξ.**, *willingly acting in obedience to his own lawlessness.*

24. ἀναβιβ....ἐρέσθαι, *to have him mount the witness-stand and to interrogate him.* Either party in a suit had the right to interrogate the opposing party, or his witnesses. They were obliged to answer. How effectually, by means of the cross-examination, Socrates disposed of the charge brought by one of his accusers may be seen in Plato's *Apol.*, Ch. 12; cf. Orat. XXII. 5; also XIII. 30, 32, where the record of the questions and answers is omitted. The witness-stand (**πόδιον**) stood off on one side from the speaker's platform (**βῆμα**). — **τοιαύτην γάρ**: rhetorically introducing the justification of his holding any converse with his brother's murderer, alluding to the custom by which the surviving relative religiously abstained even from mentioning the murderer's name in conversation. — **τούτου**: i. e. Eratosthenes; **πρὸς...διαλεγ.**, *even to converse with another concerning him;* **διαλεγ.** subj. of **εἶναι**, of which **ἀσεβές** is pred. — **καὶ...τοῦτον**, *even* (to

converse) *with this one himself;* **ὅσιον** and **εὐσεβές** agr. with the inf. understood.

25. δεδιώς, *out of fear;* H. 789, c; *Gr. Moods*, 109, 4. — **συνηγόρευες,** *did you concur.* — **ἀποθάνωμεν**: H. 740, a; G. 216, 2. — **τοῖς κελεύουσιν**: Theognis, Piso, and others referred to in § 6. — **ἡγούμενος, πάσχειν**: what time denoted? force of the pres. tense? H. 714; *Gr. Moods*, 15, 2 and 16, 1.

26. εἶτα, an orator's word, appropriately begins the indignant questions; used twice in this section. **τὸ πλῆθος,** *the majority;* used differently in § 42; **σωτηρίας**: after *κύριον*, H. 584, g; G. 180, 1. — **ἐπὶ σοὶ...ἐγεν.,** *it depended upon you;* L. & S., IV. 2. — **καὶ σῶσαι.. καὶ μὴ** (*σῶσαι*): since these are alternatives, it accords better with Eng. usage to say *whether...or.* — **ἀξιοῖς,** *do you claim?* **χρηστός,** here specifically, *innocent*, more freq. with the larger signif., *good, worthy.* — **ἀντειπών, συλλαβών,** denote means partly; H. 789, b; G. 277, 2. The thought: Do you claim merit on account of an ineffectual remonstrance, and at the same time evade responsibility for the arrest which procured his death? — **δοῦναι**: cf. *κτήσασθαι*, § 19. **τουτοισί**: H. 242; G. 83, N. 2.

27. τοῦτο: obj. of **πιστ.**, ref. to **ὡς...προσετάχθη**. Observe the difference of the Greek idiom, *believe this to him*, from the Eng. *believe him in this.* — **οὐ... ἐλάμβανον**: an obscure sentence. As Rauch. and Frohb. understand it: *for not in the case of the metics, surely, were they going to take a guaranty from him.* The Thirty took pains to implicate in their crimes as many prominent citizens as possible, thus making them interested as a matter of personal safety in the continuance of the oligarchy. They ordered Socrates, for instance, to take part in the arrest of Leon. The speaker, then (according to the interpretation mentioned above), means to assert that this proceeding against the metics was evidently not one in which the Thirty would force Eratosthenes to guarantee his fidelity. On the impf., cf. H. 702; *Gr. Moods*, 11, N. 2. — **ἢ...ἐτύγχανε,** *than just* (*γέ*) *the one who chanced to have opposed;* **τῷ**: interrog. pron.; **προσταχ.** is subj.

28. τῶν γεγεν., *of what has been done;* **ἱκανὴ...πρόφασις...ἀναφέρειν,** *a sufficient excuse for throwing the blame upon*, etc., H. 767; G. 261, 1; cf. § 6. — **σφᾶς αὐτούς**: Eratosthenes would have said, and rightly: They do not inculpate *themselves*, but *one another*, **ἀλλήλους**. The orator uses the fallacy of division and composition, so called; it should be said, however, that the reflexive may be used in a reciprocal sense; cf. H. 672, b; G. 146, N. 3.

29. εἰ.. ἦν, *if there had been;* H. 746, a; *Gr. Moods*, 49, 2; "The context must decide to which time the imperf. refers," whether past or present. — **αὐτῆς,** *than itself*, i. e. the *ἀρχή* of the Thirty. Is **αὐτός** ever properly a demonstrative equiv. to *this* or *that?* cf. G. 148, N. 3. Observe that *αὐτῆς* is not the antec. of *ἧς*. — **νῦν δέ,** *but as it is;* cf. § 23; *whom*

pray WILL *you punish?* the intensive force of **καί**, which belongs on **λῃψ.**, is best reproduced in Eng. by emphasizing the auxiliary. Cf. XXIV. 12, *τί γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἔλεγεν, for what* WOULD *he say?* Also Thuc., I. 15, 2.

30. καὶ μὲν δή, *furthermore;* joining a new argument to those already adduced in the preceding three sections; *μέν* in this phrase = *μήν*. The phrases *καὶ μήν*, *καὶ μὲν δή*, and *καὶ μὲν δὴ καί* are of freq. occurrence in the orators; *μήν* and *δή* are both confirmative; *δή* has the force of *in particular, especially*, and singles out for special attention what is thus introduced. — **παρόν**: H. 792, a; *Gr. Moods*, 110, 2; **σώζειν** is used in a double sense: *both to save him and to keep*, etc. So Plato, *σώζειν τοὺς νόμους, to keep the laws.* Keeping to the letter of the decree, — this seems the meaning, — he was not required to arrest him anywhere except in his house. — **ὅσοι**: its antec. the obj. of *ὀργιεῖ*.

31. τοῖς...ἀπολέσασι, *those who destroy;* cf. *κτήσασθαι*, § 19, and the note; **ἐκείνοις**: Athenians ref. to in § 28, who engaged in these outrages under constraint of the Thirty. — **κίνδυνος, κ. τ. λ.**, *for it was dangerous to them when sent*, etc.; **ἔφαν.** as pred. adj. agrees with the dat. understood after *ἦν*; *ἐξ. γεν.* = *to deny.* — **ἔπειτα**, *in the next place* (to say). — **ὥστε** introduces *εἶναι*; **οἷός τε**: see L. & S., III. 2. — **βουλομένων**, *wishing it*, or, *wish it as they might;* **ταῦτα** refers to *εἶδεν*. Eratosthenes, had he so desired, might have avoided meeting the victim; or, had he met him, no one could have proved that he had seen him.

32. χρῆν...σέ, *you ought;* on this and similar verbs, as used in the apodosis without *ἄν*, see *Gr. Moods*, 49, N. 3, and especially R. 1, where the constr. here and in § 48 are compared. This seems to me, however, to be a case of the first class, and thus different from the sentence in § 48. You say you were a good man; granted; it was your duty, then, to forewarn innocent men who were in danger of death. In § 48 the truth of the claim is not thus (for the sake of the argument) admitted. — **μηνυτήν**: here, as in § 48, used in its good sense. — **φαν. γεγένηται**, *have become manifest;* more freely, *are manifestly not those of one displeased*, etc. — **τοῖς γιγνομένοις**: cf. *τῶν γεγενημένων*, § 28, and explain the time denoted in each case.

33. ψῆφον: observe the connection of this word with *ψήφισμα, decree.* **λαμβάνοντας** agrees with *τούσδε*, and its obj. is *ταῦτα* understood antec. of *ἃ*; *taking as proofs of what was said at that time* (*τῶν τότε λεγ.*) *that which they know to have been done.* — **τεκμήρια** is the word rendered in our version of *Acts* i. 3, "infallible proofs." — **παρεῖναι**, *to be present;* i. e. at the sessions of the Thirty. **παρ' αὑτοῖς**, *at home*, i. e. *in our country;* H. 672; G. 146, N. 2. — **ἐπί**, *in the power of;* cf. *ἐπὶ σοί*, § 26. **εἰργασ.**, *after having wrought;* notice that this is not an attrib. part.; why not?

34. οὐ φεύγω, *I do not evade.* The asserted remonstrance shall have due weight given it, though, as I have shown, the Thirty took effectual

precautions against the possibility of any counter-testimony. — **συνειπών**, *if you had concurred;* condit.; **ἀντειπεῖν φάσκων** : equiv. to a concess. cl., as if to say, *despite your asserted remonstrance.* — **φέρε δή, τί ἂν (ἐποιήσατε)**, *come now, what would you do,* addressed to the judges. **καὶ...καί** are not co-ordinate, but each gives emphasis to the word following it. — **ἀπεψηφ.** (sc. **ἄν**), *would you acquit him?* The question being what they would do now, on a certain supposition, we should perhaps expect the imperf. instead of the aor.; but the action seems in this case merely conceived of by the speaker as such, without special regard either to its time or continuance; H. 746, a, end; likewise in regard to **ἐποίησας**, above. — **θάτερον** : H. 68, R. c; and 72; G. 11, N. 2; and 17. — **ὡμολόγηκεν** : in § 25.

35. καὶ μὲν δή : cf. § 30. — **εἰσόμενοι**, *in order to ascertain;* **τούτων** includes the others of the Thirty. — **οἱ...ὄντες**, *those who are,* is the subj.; **ἀπίασιν** : H. 699, a; G. 200, N. 3. **μαθόντες** is not temporal, but denotes a condition or circumstance of the subj., or the occasion of the action; H. 787; *Gr. Moods,* 109, 3 and 8. — **ἂν ἂν ἐξαμ.**, *whatever offences they commit;* strictly, *shall have committed;* **ων** for **τούτων ἃ** : H. 810; G. 153, and N. 1. — **πράξαντες...ἐφίενται**, *if they succeed in what they aim at;* **ἄν** : H. 574, c; G. 171; **ὑμῖν** : after **ἴσον**, H. 603; G. 186. Lysias insists that the trial is to teach a political lesson, — whether an unsuccessful attempt to overthrow the government is to be held in Athens as a failure merely, or also as a crime. — **ὅσοι...ἐπιδ.**, *the strangers who are staying here,* i. e. Greeks from other cities. — **ἐκκηρ.**, *are excluding by proclamation.* The remnant of the Thirty and such of their adherents as still followed their fortunes were at this time standing at bay in Eleusis; but some of the number had, it would seem, sought refuge in other Grecian cities. — **λαβόντες**, *having had them in custody.* — **σφᾶς αὐτοὺς...περιέργους**, *that they take needless pains.*

36. δεινόν agrees with the remainder of the sentence, in which, however, there is a break in the construction, beginning with **οὐκ ἄρα**, so that **τούτους**, which begins the second number of the conditional cl., has no verb. The clause **εἰ...ἀποκτιννύναι** is really subst., — condit. only in form; **εἰ** frequently introduces such clauses after words expressive of wonder, surprise, etc., and thus is equiv. to "that"; *Gr. Moods,* 56; Kühner, 329, R. 7. — **οἷοί τε** : agr. with subj. of **εἶναι**, H. 775, 2; G. 138, N. 8. — **τοὺς ἐκ τ. θ.**: the survivors, and the bodies of the dead left on the disabled Athenian vessels after the battle of Arginusæ, B. C. 406. Six of the ten generals were put to death. Cf. Smith's *Hist. of Greece,* Ch. XXXII. — **ἀρετῇ** : dat. of adv. after **λαβεῖν**; for other exx. of the dat. thus used to express *out of respect to, in honor to,* the gods, for instance, see Kühner's *Ausf. Gr.*, II. p. 366. — **ἐποίησαν...ναυμαχ.**, *caused (you) to be defeated in a naval battle;* the battle of Ægospotami, — a disaster very generally attributed at the time to the corrupt connivance of some of the generals belonging to the oligarchic

party. — **ἀποκτιννύναι**: the time denoted is given in the clause **ἐπειδὴ ...κατ.**, which depends on this infin.; *went on putting to death.* — **οὐκ ἄρα**, *ought not, then, they and their children?* The sentence is closed with a new question, leaving the former construction unfinished. How extensively the criminal jurisprudence of the Greeks was moulded by the patriarchal conception, that the unit of society was the family, is a question too large to be more than suggested here. By ancient law, the penalty of great crimes was often shared by the children and family of the criminal; and the justice of the law was unchallenged, even when not actually carried into effect. Cf. Maine's *Ancient Law*, Ch. IV. The argument in support of the indictment ends here. The court, however, was to decide not merely on the guilt or innocence of the prisoner, but also whether he should be punished, and what the penalty should be. The defendant in such cases was wont to dwell on past services and every mitigating circumstance. Lysias accordingly takes a review of the political history of the prisoner and his associates, — especially Theramenes. Technically the remaining argument is called **λόγος ἔξω τῆς γραφῆς**.

37. τοίνυν, *I, then;* the particle is retrospective and inferential, implying *in view of all these things.* — **μέχρι, κ. τ. λ.**, freely, *for this is as far as I think one ought to continue the accusation;* **θανάτου...ἄξια**, *crimes worthy of death;* **δόξῃ**: H. 758; *Gr. Moods*, 66, 2; **τῷ φεύγοντι**: H. 600; G. 188, 3. — **δίκην**: pred. accus., H. 556; G. 166, N. 2. Eng., *this is the extreme penalty which*, etc. — **ὅτι**, *why;* H. 552, a; G. 160, 2. — **οὐδὲ ...δὶς ἀποθ.**, *not even by suffering two deaths;* the part. has a condit. force, as the foll. verb indicates.

38. γάρ refers back to the first statement in § 37, giving a further reason; **τοῦτο** refers to what follows **ἐστί**; **ὅπερ** introd. a parenthetic, not a restrictive rel. clause. — **ἐξαπατῶσιν**: we should expect an infin., to make the antithesis exact; it will be convenient in rendering to make the first verb correspond to the others; *they make no defence*, etc. — **τριηραρχ.**: one of the responsible and expensive duties that devolved upon an Athenian citizen of wealth. Cf. *Dict. Ant.*, "Trierarchia," I., II. — **πολεμ. οὔσας**, *which had been hostile;* one adj. is pred. after the partic., the other after the verb.

39. ἐπεί: syn. with **γάρ**, *for;* it introd. the imperat. **κελεύετε** as the means of confirming the assertion made above, **οὐδὲ τοῦτο προσήκει.** — **πολιτῶν**: partit. gen. after **ὅσους.** — **οἵαν...κατεδ.**, *as yours which they enslaved;* untranslatable literally. **τὴν ὑμετ.** is in definitive appos. with **οἵαν.** The reader should pause to notice in this sentence the meaning of **οἷος** and **ὅσος**, for which we have no proper equivalents in English, and are, therefore, compelled to render by *as.*

40. ἀλλὰ γάρ: "ἀλλά is often used to break off the previous discourse, and introduce a question or demand" (H. 863, b. Cf. also XXIV. 21.)

As to **γάρ** (here to be omitted in translation), see L. & S., IV. 1. The next **ἀλλά** is a repetition (the figure called "anaphora") of the initial word, frequent in animated discourse. In Eng. tr. we simply substitute "*or*." — **τοσαῦτα ὅσαπερ.**, *just as many as.* On the disarming of the citizens by order of the Thirty, see Grote, VIII. p. 247. — **πατρίδος**: limiting *οἰκία*. It is substantially the same construction as *τὴν ὑμετέραν*, above; **φρούρια**: it is not certain to what extent this demolition of the fortifications of Attica was carried by the oligarchs in order to put the country more completely into the power of the Lacedæmonians. Taking this passage as his authority, Curtius (*Hist. of Greece*, IV. p. 45) says: The Thirty had in the interest of Sparta not only deprived Athens of its strong walls, but also pulled down or dismantled its frontier fortresses. The whole district of Attica was to be a defenceless country, which was precisely what the Spartans had demanded after the Persian wars." In a note: "But Phyle had remained a *χωρίον ἰσχυρόν*, Eleusis likewise." — **προσταττόντων**: causal, as the foll. cl. shows: *even the Piræus they dismantled, not because the L. required it, but*, etc. The aristocratic party in Athens always looked with a jealous eye on its commercial and maritime interests, viewing them as the sources of strength to the democracy. — **τὴν ἀρχήν**, *their supremacy in the government.*

41. **πολλάκις...ἐθαυ.**, *I have often wondered*, or, *I often wonder*, equally frequent in Eng. Essentially this is the same as the so-called gnomic aor., simply naming the action as taking place; its time is defined only by the adv. elements of the sentence; **τόλμης**: H. 576; G. 171, 2. — **τῶν αὐτῶν**: H. 572, e; G. 169, 1. — **τοὺς τοιούτους**, *such as do them;* made more definite by the art.; G. 141, d. **αὐτούς** is emphatic, agr. with the subj. of *ἐργαζ.*, not merely used as a personal pronoun.

42. **γάρ**: explaining **πολλάκις ἐθαύμασα.** The previous record of Eratosthenes and his colleagues made the effrontery of their advocates and apologists more surprising. — **τῷ ὑμετ. πλήθει**, *to you the people;* a current phrase for *the democracy*, used in addressing the people, and especially frequent in Lysias. So § 43, and XIII. 16; cf. the diff. phrase in § 26, and note. — **ἐπί**, *in the time of;* B. C. 411. — **ἔφευγεν**: give *καθιστάς* its proper force as a pres. part. — **τριήραρχος**: appos. with subj.; freely, *having abandoned the ship of which he was trierarch.* — **ἔπραττε, κ. τ. λ.**, *was acting in opposition to those who wished*, etc.

43. The testimony of the witnesses having been delivered, and written down by the clerks (*γραμματεῖς*), the speaker proceeds. Ordinarily in an Athenian court no oath was administered to a witness, unless when brought forward he denied any knowledge of the case. **τοίνυν ..παρήσω**, *now I will pass over;* the particle is transitional, — in Eng. ordinarily there would be none. — **ἡ ναυμαχ. καὶ ἡ συμφορά**: a comprehensive and well-understood phrase for Ægospotami and its consequences. — **οὔσης**: the partic.

here is equiv. to a parenthetic clause; it is of the nature of an adv. element, and thrown in to call attention to the revolutionary nature of the transaction. — **ὅθεν**, *whence*, has its proper antec. in what follows; we may render: *five men* (*and with this they began the sedition*) *were appointed*, etc.; **κατέστησαν**: here intrans., in the next section trans. Observe that **ἔστησαν** is the only form of the verb common to both aorists. — **ἄρχοντες**, *directors*. — **συνωμοτῶν**: so called because of their oaths to maintain mutual fidelity and inviolable secrecy. They styled themselves *ἑταῖροι*. — **ἔφοροι, ἑταίρων**: "As soon as the city surrendered, and while the work of demolition was yet going on, the oligarchical party began to organize itself. The members of the political Clubs again came together, and named a managing Committee of Five, called Ephors in compliment to the Lacedæmonians, to direct the general proceedings of the party." So Grote, VIII. p. 235, taking this passage as his chief authority. The career and character of Critias, the leading spirit of this revolution, are ably set forth in Curtius's *Hist. of Greece*, III. pp. 573 – 578.

44. φυλάρχους, *phylarchs, commanders of cavalry*. There were ten of them in the Athenian service, one for the cavalry of each *φυλή*. — **παρήγγελλον**, *issued orders*, characterizing, as does *κύριοι*, below, this systematic completeness of the conspiracy; **εἴ τι ἄλλο**, *whatever else*; *εἴ τι* being equiv. to *ὅ τι*; for **δέοι** and the foll. optatives, see H. 757; G. 232, 4. — **ἔσεσθε**: a change from opt. to fut. indic., H. 756; G. 217. — **ἐπεβουλεύσατο**: by the measures already detailed, the popular form of government was made the instrument of its own overthrow.

45, 46. ἄλλως: i. e. unless brought into this condition of destitution and suffering (**πολλῶν ἐνδεεῖς**). — **κακῶς πραττόντων**, *if you should suffer misfortune*; notice that *δυνήσονται* takes the place of the equiv. *οἷοί τε ἔσονται*. — **τῶν...κακῶν**: after *ἀπαλλαγῆναι*. — **οὐκ ἐνθυμ.**, *would be unmindful of*. — **ἐφόρων**: pred. gen., partitive. — **μάρτυρας**: defined by the foll. subst. partt. used appositively. — **οὐ...δυναίμην**: on account of the oaths by which they were bound; see § 47.

47. κατεμ. ἂν αὐτῶν, *they* (i. e. their fellow-conspirators) *would testify against them*. — **τοὺς ὅρκους...πιστοὺς ἐνόμιζον**, *consider their oaths binding*; observe that *οὐκ* qualifies both predicates together (i. e. *ἐνόμιζον, παρέβαινον*), not each separately; as if to say: those who withhold their testimony consider binding the oaths which they took on becoming "Companions," but are violating those they took on becoming citizens, — which they would not do, if they were wise; cf. the note on § 80; **ἐπί** has the same meaning as in § 26; it gives the sense well to render it freely, *where it concerns*, or, *with a view to*. — **κάλει**: addressed to the herald (*κῆρυξ*) of the court; *κάλεσον* is the word in Orat. XXI. 10. — **ἀνάβητε**: cf. *ἀνάβηθι*, § 24. Possibly the decree of Demophantus (Grote, VIII. p. 80) was still in

force (cf. Grote, VIII. p. 298); if so, such oaths as are alluded to in the first cl. of this section were not by law binding. The oaths which they had shown themselves ready to violate were their oaths of allegiance, and those taken in any official service to the state. On being enrolled in his eighteenth year, every citizen took a prescribed oath of citizenship.

48. **τὸ τελ.**: H. 552, a; G. 160, 2. — **εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν κατ.**: as in §§ 5 and 29. — **ἄλλων**: i. e. *κακῶν*; Attic, or rather Greek euphemism. — **ἐχρῆν ἂν ...μὴ παρανόμως ἄρχειν**, *he must needs have ruled according to the laws;* **χρή**: used here in its first, not its second meaning; cf. L. & S. — **ἔπειτα**, *in the next place;* **δέ** is usually omitted with this adv., whether it denotes succession of time or of thought. **μηνυτὴν γ.**: also in § 32; *to disclose, to give information.* — **ἁπασῶν**: the force of its emphatic position may be given by rendering it with the next clause: that they were *all* false. — **ἀλλὰ...εἰσαγγέλλουσι**, *but were bringing in charges fabricated by the Thirty;* also to be joined with **ὅτι**, and belonging to the time of **ἐχρῆν**, which the context shows refers to the past. — In Orat. VI., *Against Andocides*, the speaker pronounces Batrachus "the basest of all the informers during the administration of the Thirty," except Andocides. Of Æschylides nothing further is known.

49. **καὶ μὲν δή**: as in §§ 30, 35, 89. See note to § 30. — **οὐδὲν...σιωπῶντες**, *were none the worse off for being silent;* notice that **ἔλαττον** is not obj., but used as an adv. accus.; cf. **ἔχειν κακῶς**, *to be badly off;* with an adv. **ἔχω** = *to be.* — **ἕτεροι ἦσαν οἱ λέγοντες**, *there were others who said;* the constr. is: **ἕτ.** subject, **οἱ λεγ.** in appos. So *Anab.*, II. 4. 5, **ὁ ἡγησόμενος οὐδεὶς ἔσται**, *there will be no one to act as guide.* Without the art. the part. would stand in simple adj. agreement with the subj.; the art. added makes the action of the verb apply to some case definitely understood or referred to. For further illustration of this distinction, see Krüger's *Griechische Sprachlehre*, 50, 4; A. 3, and A. 4. — **ὧν**: gen. after the compar.; its antec. is obj. of the part. — **πῶς...ἔδειξαν**, *why did they not show it then?* The foll. partt. denote manner. The argument of this section is: Silent acquiescence was no proof of good-will to the people; under the circumstances, it was the easiest thing to do; the only way in which such good-will could be shown was by openly advocating better counsels, and endeavoring to restrain the evil-doers. The obvious reply, that to do this at that time was dangerous, is met in what follows.

50. **ὅπως**: H. 756, a; G. 217, N. 4. — **ἐν τῷ λόγῳ**, *in the course of the discussion.* — **εἰ δὲ μή**, *otherwise;* **σκοπείτω** is to be understood; **ἐνταυθοῖ** = **ἐνταῦθα**, *herein;* **ὅτι...τε...καί**, *not only that...but also that.* — **χρῆν δ' αὐτὸν...ἔχειν**, *but he ought to have had;* cf. § 32; **ἀλλὰ μή**, *instead of.* The argument: Let him beware of saying that he opposed the Thirty (see § 25), when the matter was under advisement; otherwise, the history of the

transaction will make it appear not only that he was satisfied with the measures finally adopted, but also that he was sufficiently influential in the body to be quite free from any reason to fear.

51. **ὡς ἀμφ. ταῦτα**, *both which things*, lit. *as both these*; **ταῦτα** is direct obj.; the Eng. does not allow the repetition of the previous obj. after "as." — **καὶ τὰς...διαφορὰς...γιγνομένας**, *and* (*shall show*) *that their repeated disputes...arose*; for the part., see H. 797, 1; G. 279, 1, and 280; its tense shows the continued, or repeated action. — **ὁπότεροι**, *which of the two*, i. e. the two factions of the oligarchic party, one headed by Critias, the other by Theramenes; it introd. an indir. question in appos. with **διαφοράς**. See *Gr. Moods*, 70, 1, Rem.

52. **ποῦ...ἦν**, *when would it have been nobler?* H. 746, a and b; G. 222, N. 1. **Φυλῇ**: see note XIII. 63. Thrasybulus, the leader in the return of the exiles, who afterwards usually bore the name **οἱ ἐκ Φυλῆς**, or **οἱ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς**: here it is **οἱ ἐπὶ Φυλῇ**, *the men on Phyle.* — **Ἐλευσῖνάδε**: cf. **Μεγαράδε**, § 17. — **μιᾷ ψήφῳ**: "There was a rule in Attic judicial procedure, called the psephism of Kannōnus, — originally adopted, we do not know when, on the proposition of a citizen of that name, as a psephism or decree for some particular case, but since generalized into common practice, and grown into great prescriptive reverence, — which peremptorily forbade any such collective trial or sentence, and directed that a separate judicial vote should in all cases be taken for or against each accused party." Grote, VIII. p. 196. On the proceedings at Eleusis and Salamis, read Grote, VIII. p. 266 *seq.*; or Smith, Ch. XXXIII., § 15.

53. **ἤλθομεν**: identifying himself with those who joined Thrasybulus; see Introd., "On the Life and Writings of Lysias." — **αἱ ταραχαί**, *the tumults*; gently said, rather than remind those before him how a few months before Athenians had fought Athenians in the very streets of the Piræus. Xenophon gives a full account of the battle in *Hell.*, II. 4; see Grote, VIII. p. 268 *seq.* — **οἱ λόγοι**, *the conferences.* — **ἔσεσθαι**: after **ἐλπιδ.**; H. 767; G. 261; *that we should be towards one another as we both showed* (ourselves to be afterwards). **ὡς** denotes manner, corresp. to the adv. expression **πρὸς ἀλλ.** The phraseology is certainly unusual; Frohb. has emended the text. — **οἱ...ἐκ Παραιῶς**: = **οἱ ἐκ Φυλῆς**, a current phrase to distinguish them from the oligarchic faction, who were called **οἱ ἐν ἄστει**, **οἱ ἐξ ἄστεος**. — **γάρ**: our allowing them (the men of the city) to depart unmolested after the skirmish was a proof of our confidence in a speedy reconciliation.

54. **ἀρχ....εἷλοντο**, *chose as archons*; **ἐκείνοις**: i. e. the Thirty. — **ἄν** belongs with the inf.; **τῶν αὐτῶν**: Lysias recurs in § 57 to the fact that the Thirty were so avowedly and thoroughly hostile to the democracy, — now prominently represented by the returned exiles, the "Piræus-men," — that the same person could hardly be friendly to both sides.

55. The following passage, to § 61, gives some facts not elsewhere stated concerning the **δεκαδοῦχοι**, the Board of Ten, who succeeded the Thirty in the government of the city after the expulsion of the latter. Eratosthenes seems not to have been a member of it, as stated by Grote; but Phidon, with whom he stood in close political affiliation, represented the spirit and aims of both, and showed the intense hostility felt toward the democracy by even the Moderates. — **τούτων** : i. e. the Ten. "The members of the new government were selected from the Thirty, from the oligarchic Senate, and from the number of those who generally shared their political views. Of the Thirty, Phidon was chosen, who, next to Theramenes, was known to have most vigorously opposed Critias and Charicles. Hippocles, Epichares, and Rhinon were of the same shade of party. These men were the moderate oligarchs, who had been driven into the back-ground by the death of Theramenes, and whom it was now intended to place at the helm of the state." (Curtius, IV. p. 52.) — **τῇ ἑκ. ἑταιρείᾳ**, *their club;* cf. note on § 43; Charicles, next to Critias, was the leader of the Thirty. — **τοῖς ἐξ ἄστεος**, *to the party of the city;* dat. after **ἐπολησαν**. The party hatred and hostility were augmented, not allayed, under the Ten.

56. **οἷς**, *by which*, i. e. proceedings; Frohb. and Rauch. have **ὧι** — **τῶν ...ἀπολλ.**, *those who were perishing*, i. e. under the rule of the Thirty. — **οἱ τεθν., οἱ μέλλοντες** : ref. to those who had fallen or were to fall in the civil war, now openly begun. — **καὶ πλουτοῦντες**, *and who were getting rich faster.*

57, 58. **λαβόντες...τὰς ἀρχάς**, *having gained possession of the offices.* — **τοῖς...εἰργ. καὶ...πεπονθόσι** : in appos. with **ἀμφοτέροις**. — **ἐκεῖνοι**, i. e. the Thirty. — **ἑτέρων ἔργων** : the emphatic position of these words entitles them to emphasis in translation : *for surely it was not for having been guilty of other deeds that*, etc. — **τῶν αὐτῶν...μετεῖχε**, *took part in the same deeds as Eratosthenes;* **Ἐρατ.** : H. 603; G. 186; **γνώμῃ** : H. 608; G. 188; it is dat. of manner; **αὐτῶν**, *than themselves;* **διά**, *through*, = *by the aid*, or *agency*, *of;* often thus used with accus. of a person. — **ἔπειθεν**, *was endeavoring to persuade them*, i. e. the Lacedæmonians. — **διαβάλλων**, *maliciously asserting;* **Βοιωτ.** : pred. gen. The Bœotians gave assistance to Thrasybulus and the exiles, and this would be enough to arouse jealousy at Sparta. The remnant of the Thirty, after taking refuge in Eleusis, had also sent to Sparta for aid against the constitutional party, the democracy.

59. **τούτων**, *this*, i. e. that the Lacedæmonians should take the field. — **εἴτε καὶ...βουλ.**, *or because they were not inclined.* — **ἐδανείσατο** : the Lacedæmonian government was now in funds. Lysander, the year before, had returned from the Asiatic campaign, bringing back not less than 470 talents in addition to the other trophies and spoils of war. See Grote, VIII. p. 238. This loan was afterward repaid from the state treasury, though with

opposition. — **ἄρχοντα**, *as commander*, i. e. of the military force, which would also put him in command of the city. Lysander was a genuine Spartan in his dislike of Athens and popular government, as well as in his personal incorruptibility.

60. πάντας ἀνθ., *all men, men from every quarter;* the absence of the art. shows the vagueness of the phrase; Frohb., "*alle Welt.*" — **ἐπάγοντες**, *calling in the aid of;* **τελευτ.**: H. 788, a, last par.; G. 277, 1; cf. **τὸ τελευταῖον**, § 48. — **οὐ διαλλάξαι**: cf. **αἱρεθεὶς ὑμᾶς διαλ.**, § 58. — **εἰ μή, κ. τ. λ.**, *had it not been for true men;* the omission before **εἰ μή** suggests itself at once: *and they would have destroyed it.* — **οἷς...δηλώσατε**: H. 755; *Gr. Moods*, 59, N. 1; imperat. in a rel. cl.; we may render: *whom it is yours to show by inflicting*, etc. In Eng. an imperat. is allowed in a rel. cl. only when the latter is really equiv. to a demonstrative.

61. καὶ αὐτοί, *yourselves.* — **ὅμως δέ**, sc. **παρέξομαι.** — **ἀναπαύσασθαι**: if the speech is written as delivered, Lysias could not have been speaking much more than half an hour; he may, however, have been on his feet a much longer time, and perhaps engaged during a part of it in cross-examining the witnesses who had been previously called up. The time "to rest himself" would be welcome to a speaker unaccustomed to address so large an audience as was doubtless gathered at this trial, and would perhaps, as Lysias intimates, afford an agreeable change to the listeners. All the evidence cited, it will be borne in mind, was produced by each party during his own speech, and the time thus occupied was not to be reckoned in the time legally allowed the speaker. Hence his direction to have the time-piece stopped when witnesses were called; see XXIII. 11; **καί μοι ἐπίλαβε τὸ ὕδωρ.** See *Dict. Ant.* "Martyria," and cf. also note on § 24. — **ὡς πλείστων**: H. 576, a; G. 171, 2, N. 1.

62. In this passage (62–78), the course of Theramenes is sketched with an unsparing hand; it is the sketch not of an historian, but of an adversary; yet all the facts stated accord, so far as known, with other received authorities. He had the talents of a demagogue with the temper of an aristocrat. His virtue as a politician was moderation, and it is this that must have commended him to Aristotle, who pronounced him one of the best of Athens' citizens, — a verdict that subsequent history has been far from ratifying. His polished, persuasive eloquence commended him to the people, and undoubtedly in foresight and other intellectual qualities he stood among the foremost men of the latter half of the Peloponnesian War. But he was destitute of fixed principles; he seems to have been wholly controlled by personal vanity and ambition. His political instability won for him, acc. to Xenophon, the nickname of *Cothurnus*, the stage-shoe that fitted either foot. His moderation, indeed, seems hardly to deserve the name of a virtue; he was not like Halifax, as described by Macaulay, a "Trimmer"

on principle, but by policy; nor does he deserve, either as a statesman or as a patriot, to be ranked with the English nobleman. Unless history has much distorted the facts of his conduct in the trial of the six generals after the battle of Arginusæ, and during the siege of Athens after Ægospotami, he richly deserved the fate that befell him. That very death, however, partially redeemed his reputation. He had fallen a victim to a more vindictive, if not a wilier foe of the people, — the insatiably ambitious and the relentless Critias. With this temporary halo of martyrdom around him, brightened by the memory of his eloquence and his gallant bearing when taken to be executed, his name was put forward by the Moderates of the oligarchy as a mediator with the now triumphant democracy. Lest the guilty actors in the tragedy now over should thus be screened from justice, the orator aims to set Theramenes in a true light before his countrymen.

φέρε δή: cf. § 34. — **ὡς...διδ.**: cf. § 3, where we have **ἐλαχίστων** instead of **βραχυτάτων**. — **καὶ...παραστῇ**, *and let this suggest itself to no one, let no one think;* **κινδυνεύοντος**: gen. absol. with **Ἐρατ.**, concessive; *while it is Eratosthenes who is on trial.* — **ταῦτα ἀπολ.**, *that he will make this defence;* H. 547, c; G. 159, N. 2. — **ἐκείνῳ**, i. e. Theramenes.

63. καίτοι, κ. τ. λ., *yet without doubt, I suppose, if he had taken part in public affairs with Themistocles, he would claim that he took measures,* etc.; **σφόδρα** emphasizes the sneering irony; it is a modal adv., I think; not an adv. of manner with **προσπ.** — **ὁπότε**: the words to fill out this cl. are to be supplied from the preceding. — **οὐ...γεγενῆσθαι**: a good specimen of the rhetorical figure litotes, in which the form of expression suggests more than is said. The remark is significant; just at this time many were disposed to look upon Theramenes as a martyr to liberty and the state. The **γάρ** gives the reason for taunting Eratosthenes with his avowed adherence to Theramenes; as if to say: he does not seem to me to be a second Themistocles. — **Δακ. ἀκόντων**, *against the will of the Lacedæmonians;* concessive.

64. τοίνυντίον ἦ: see note on § 2. — **ἄξιον**: sc. **ἂν ἦν**, *it were fitting; Gr. Moods*, 49, N. 3; Kühn., 260, Rem. 3. — **προσαπολωλέναι**, *to perish too, to perish with him;* observe the force of the prep. — **πλὴν εἴ τις ἐτύγχανεν**, *unless there chanced to be one.* — **εἰς...ἀναφερομένας**, *appealing to;* an indication of the reaction in public opinion in favor of Theramenes; the supporters of the overthrown oligarchy who still remained in the city were now claiming to have adhered to him. — **ἀλλ' οὐ**: cf. **ἀλλὰ μή**, § 50.

65. προτέρας ὀλιγ., i. e. the Four Hundred; H. 584, d; G. 180, 1. — **πολιτείαν**: for the main features of the scheme of government thus introduced, see Grote, VIII. p. 36; **πείσας**: the power of insinuating persuasive speech, Theramenes seems to have had in a high degree. — **ταῦτ' ἔπραττεν**,

was engaged in these proceedings. The Probuli, a provisional committee of ten, appointed at the close of the Sicilian expedition, to take measures for the public safety; see *Dict. Ant.* Theramenes's adopted father, Hagnon, son of Nicias, is here referred to. He was active and prominent in public affairs during the earlier years of the Peloponnesian War. — **τοῖς πράγμασι**, *to the measures* then in progress, *the cause, the revolution*, favored and promoted by the Probuli, who were of oligarchic proclivities. Frohb. renders: "der Ordnung der Dinge, der Verfassung," *to the order of things, the constitution*, but wrongly, I think; cf. the use of **πράγματα** in XIII. 60.

66. Pisander had been from the beginning the leader in the movement. See Grote, VIII. p. 19, and also p. 58, where he says: "The representation of the character and motives of Theramenes, as given by Lysias," in Orations XII. and XIII., "is quite in harmony with that of Thucydides." Callæschrus, the father of Critias, and one of the leaders of the ultra wing of the Four Hundred. — **προτέρους αὑτοῦ**, *more influential than himself*, that is, in the counsels of the party; as stated in the next clause, they were losing their ascendency over the democracy. — **τότ' ἤδη**, *at last.* — **τῶν Ἀριστ. ἔργων**: Aristocrates is mentioned by Thucydides as along with Theramenes heading this opposition to the Ultras of the Four Hundred. — **τὸ...δέος**: *the fear inspired by you;* observe the precision of this and the preceding phrase.

67, 68. ἀπέκτεινεν, *caused the death of;* cf. § 23. Of this transaction Grote gives an interesting account; Vol. VIII. pp. 83 - 87. — **ἅμα μὲν...δέ**, *not only...but also;* the accessible facts concerning Theramenes seem to justify the taunt of Lysias concerning his double-edged "good faith." — **αὐτὸς ἐπαγ.**, *having promised of his own accord;* **αὐτός** emphatically repeated. The speaker passes over the intervening six years; we know that he was repeatedly elected general. — **πρᾶγμα, κ. τ. λ.**, *a great and important thing;* a vague and mysteriously uttered phrase, which helped Theramenes once more to gain the confidence of the people. — **μήτε...δοὺς μήτε**, *without either giving pledges, or;* H. 841.

69. πραττούσης: this and the foll. partt. are concessive. That the Senate of the Areopagus were already taking measures for the safety of the city, was a reason for not committing them entirely into the hands of one man. — **οἱ ἄλλοι ἀνθ.**, *the rest of men*, i. e. *men generally.* — **εἰδότες δέ**: H. 794; *Gr. Moods*, III. — **τὰ ἀπόρρητα**: i. e. *secrets of state;* **οὐκ ἠθέλησεν**, *refused, would not;* yet he could hardly have been required to tell his plans in the open assembly, — that would have been communicating them to the enemy. — **πατρίδα, κ. τ. λ.**: H. 530, c. "In vain many thoughtful citizens urged their objections; they guessed his traitorous intentions, and warned the assembly against intrusting their all to the hands of a Theramenes. In vain the Areopagus offered to take the negotiations for peace

into its own hands. The large majority of the citizens, whose only anxiety was for peace, were captivated by his speech and would not relinquish the hopes aroused by it; the conspirators exerted their influence to foster this feeling; and Theramenes received the desired powers." Curtius, III. p. 568.

70. **ὧν**: H. 808, 809; G. 153 and N. 1. — **οὕτως**: the consequent is **ὥστε**; *he had so firmly made up his mind that it was requisite*, etc., *that.* — **περὶ ὧν**: after **ἐμνήσθη**; its antec. is **ταῦτα**; render, *which no one either of the enemy mentioned, or of the citizens expected.* — **αὐτὸς...ἐπαγγ.**: cf. § 68. — **εὖ εἰδώς**: causal, = *for he well knew.* — **ταχεῖαν**: pred. position; render emphatically, *speedy would be the vengeance which*, etc.

71. **οὐ πρότερον εἴασε...ἕως**, *he did not permit,...until; πρότερον* is not essential to the meaning, and is sometimes omitted; the foll. verbs are coordinate after **ἕως**. — **ὑπ' ἐκείνων**: the Lacedæmonians. — **στρατόπεδον**: troops from the army of occupation at Decelea. The assembly referred to here, and mentioned in the foll. section, was "the assembly concerning a change in the constitution," — the assembly which passed the motion of Dracontides, establishing the Thirty in power, and virtually abrogating the constitution. It seems to have been held shortly after the surrender of Athens to Lysander, which took place (acc. to Scheibe) March 29, 404 B. C. The assembly (or assemblies, — there seem to have been several subsequent sessions) "concerning the Peace," which was held the day after the return of Theramenes from his final mission, is not referred to here. Its deliberations are referred to in Oration XIII., § 15 *seq.* On the order of the successive sessions, see Curtius, Vol. III., App., Note XII.

72. **τότε...ὑπαρχ.**, *this being the condition of affairs at that time.* — **ἐποίουν**, *convened;* Philochares and Miltiades are not elsewhere mentioned in the extant accounts of this period. — **μήτε...τέ**: H. 859. Notice also that *μήτε...μηδείς* make one negative in translation; H. 843; G. 283, 8. — **τἀκείνοις δοκοῦντα**, *what pleased them.*

73. It will be seen, by consulting the histories, that the present oration is the chief authority concerning the deliberations of this assembly. The narrative of Diodorus Siculus is considered to have little weight, where it differs from the account here given. **τῇ πολ. χρῆσθαι**, *to adopt the form of government.* — **ἀπέφαινεν**, *announced*, not *proposed;* the word is significant of the forced revolutionary character of the proceeding; **ὅμως...διακ.**, *although thus situated; ὅμως, yet*, belongs with the principal verb, but is often brought in earlier in the sentence; it shows that the part. is concessive; H. 795, f. — **ἐθορυβεῖτε**: in all the Athenian meetings, in courts as well as in the political assemblies, free expression was given to approval or disapproval; this word is used of both, meaning *to applaud*, and *to murmur dissent*, not exactly *to make an uproar*, which is too rude a definition;

though often enough in the gatherings of the intractable Demos the rising murmurs made uproar enough to drown the tones of a Stentor. — **δουλείας καὶ ἐλευθ.**: it was a question of slavery *or* freedom, as we should say.

74. **ὅτι...μέλοι**, *that he cared nothing for your noise;* **οὐδέν**: adv. accus. — **τοὺς...πράττοντας**: used substantively as pred. accusative after *εἰδείη*: H. 556; G. 166. The direct obj. may often be distinguished from the pred. accus. by the art. with the former; in constr. like the present, the contrary may be the case; the principle is the same as that given in the note on § 49. Frohb. is surely mistaken in considering *πολλούς* pred., and that *Ἀθηναίων* limits *τοὺς...πράτ.* — **αὐτῷ**: after *ὅμοια*: H. 603 and a; G. 186 and N. 2. — **δοκοῦντα**: though without the art., probably used substantively; *Gr. Moods*, 108, N. 2; **λέγοι** is also to be connected with *ἐπειδή*; for the mood of *εἰδείη* and *λέγοι*, see H. 738; G. 247. — **καὶ...ἔχοι**, *but also that he considered you to have violated the treaty.* "He told them in a menacing and contemptuous tone that Athens was now at his mercy, since the walls had not been demolished before the day specified, and consequently the conditions of the promised peace had been violated." (Grote, VIII. p. 235.) — **ὅτι...ἔσται, κελεύει**: forms of direct discourse; H. 735; G. 243.

75, 76. **γνόντες, κ. τ. λ.**, *recognizing the plot;* **ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί**, *true men*, or *brave men*, as § 97, in simple contrast with the assumed distinctive name of the aristocrats; cf. § 86 and note. In § 94, Lysias claims for the former the title *ἄριστοι*. — **ᾤχοντο ἀπιόντες**, *hastily departed;* H. 801; G. 279, 2, note. — **σφίσιν αὐτοῖς**: H. 605; G. 187. Notice the force of the prep. in *συν-είδησις*, Lat. *con-scientia*, from which our "consciousness" and "conscience," each with new and deeper meaning. It may be questioned whether those who remained and kept silent, or those who quit the assembly, adopted the better policy as patriotic citizens, — as *ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί*. — **καὶ...κακῶς**: i. e. some of them "bad" men, and others "ill-advised"; the connectives *καὶ...καὶ* assign the attributes divisively; so also § 26. — **τὰ προσταχθέντα**: cf. *ἀπέφαινεν*, § 73, and *παρηγγέλλετο*, below; it was the vote of a deliberative assembly only in pretence. — **κελεύοιεν**: H. 757; G. 232, 4. "The appointed ephors," — a phrase which gives the new committee of managers a quasi-official recognition; cf. § 43. The method of nomination is known to us only from this account. — **οὕτω...ἑώρων**, *so well did they see.* — **ὥστε...ᾔδεσαν**, *that they knew beforehand.*

77. **οὐκ ἐμοί**, *not on my testimony;* cf. note on § 27. — **ἐν τῇ βουλῇ**: to be taken with *ἀπολογ.* The defence made by Theramenes just before his seizure and execution is referred to. — **φεύγουσιν**: the tense has no special meaning; this is one of the participles which came to be used with a subst. force of its own; here, *the recent exiles.* — **οὐδὲν...Λακ.**, *the Lacedæmonians being nowise solicitous for it.* — **τοῖς...μετέχουσιν**: his colleagues of

the Thirty. — **ὅτι...τοιούτων τυγχάνοι**, *that he was meeting with such a requital;* the part. before is concessive: *although he had been the chief agent in*, etc.; on the position of *ὑπ' ἐμοῦ*, cf. H. 532, a. Frohb. remarks that this is the only instance in Lysias where a limiting phrase is thus separated from its part. by an interposed subst.

78. **καὶ...καὶ...καὶ, καὶ...καὶ, καὶ...καί**: the polysyndeton (as the Greek grammarians termed it), the multiplication of connectives, serves here to give greater weight to the sentence; the pair at the end may be rendered *both...and.* — **ὑπὲρ...πονηρίας**, *for his own villany;* *ὑπέρ* here = *because of*, in the preceding clause, *in behalf of;* we may render by *for* in both, and preserve the antithesis. — **κατέλυσε**: H. 706. — **δικαίως δ' ἄν**: *δίκην δόντος* is understood, H. 803 and b; G. 207, 1, and 211; render: *and would justly have suffered punishment.* — **δίς**: first in the tyranny of the Four Hundred, and the second time in that of the Thirty. — **τῶν...καταφ., τῶν... ἐπιθ.**: broadly but significantly characterizing his restless ambition. These sonorous antitheses abound in the speeches and rhetorical productions of Lysias's time. "Be content with the present," *στέργε τὰ παρόντα*, was an oft-quoted maxim among the Greeks, in substance or in form; cf. in *Heb.* xiii. 5: *ἀρκούμενοι τοῖς παροῦσιν.* — **ὀνόματι**: "O Liberty! what crimes are committed in thy name!" said Mme. Roland. What this fairest of phrases was that cloaked most dreadful deeds, we are left to infer.

79. **ἐν ᾧ...εἶναι**, *on which it needs not that there be pardon and pity.* — **τουτουί**, *his*, pointing at him; H. 242; G. 83, N. 2. — **μηδὲ...ἐχθρῶν**, *and not by fighting be victorious over your enemies in the field, and yet by your verdict be subject to your personal foes.* It is the object here to shut off compassion, by reminding the auditors that the Thirty and their adherents not only were now in arms against them (at Eleusis), but had also been their bitterest personal enemies.

80. **μηδὲ...πλείω χάριν...ἴστε**, *and do not be more grateful;* "to be grateful for anything" is usually expressed in Greek by *ἔχειν χάριν τινός*, or *εἰδέναι χάριν τινός*; *ὧν* = *τούτων ἅ*, the gen. depending on *χάριν.* — **ὀργίζεσθε**: prob. imperat.; cf. § 60. — **μηδὲ...ἀφῆτε**: the neg. belongs to both cl.; cf. § 47. In such cases the thought is often better set forth in Eng. by making the first cl. subordinate: *and do not, while you are devising measures against*, etc. For mode of *ἀφῆτε*, see H. 723, a; G. 254. So *βοηθήσητε*, below. — **τυχῆς**: after *κακίον.* — **τούτους**: as before observed, Phidon, as well as Eratosthenes, is supposed to have been in Athens at this time; others deeply implicated in the crimes of the conspiracy are also doubtless meant.

81, 82. **κατηγόρηται δή**, *the accusation is now complete;* *δή*, besides its original temporal force (from *ἤδη*), marks the transition in a spirited way. — **οἷς...ἀνοίσει**, *to whom he will appeal in defence;* espec. ref. to Theramenes.

Observe that the clause is parenthetic, not restrictive. — **ἐξ ἴσου**, *on equal terms;* comparing the present trial with the pretended judicial proceedings under the Thirty. — **καθίσταμεν**, *we stand, we are placed*, i. e. in accordance with the forms of law. — **ἀκρίτους**: pred. adj.; one of these trials that were not trials is described in XIII. 36 *seq.*; those after the restoration were *κατὰ τὸν νόμον*. — **οὐδὲ...λαμβάνειν**, *not even if you should wish to inflict punishment illegally;* **ἄν** belongs with the foll. opt.; **ὤν**: by attr. for the cogn. acc. **ἅ**. — **τί παθόντες**: H. 789, c; G. 277, 2; *by what suffering.* — **τὴν ἀξίαν**: the adj. emphasized by the art.; H. 533; G. 142, 2; *the punishment deserved by their deeds;* for the periphrastic form of the verb, see H. 385, end; G. 98, 2.

83. αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς παῖδας: see note on § 36; **πότερον**: sign of alternative question, but not to be tr. — **ὧν**: antec. in *λάβοιμεν*. — **ἀλλὰ γάρ**: instead of the expected *ἤ, or*, after *πότερον*. As to its freq. use in introducing a question, see note on § 40. — **τὰ φανερά**: not merely a fine, but confiscation of their entire property; *φανερὰ οὐσία* is the term for lands, buildings, furniture, slaves, etc., as opposed to cash assets; the latter were called *οὐσία ἀφανής*, or simply *ἀργύριον*; see Frohb. — **καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι**, *would it be well;* i. e. fair, satisfactory. — **ἧς**: limits **πολλά**.

84. πῶς οὐκ: = Lat. *nonne;* **πῶς** is prefixed to the negative for the sake of rhetorical emphasis, and not merely in its proper sense of *how* or *why*, as, for instance, in § 49; in XXII. 17, on the other hand, it is used as here. It is a distinct use of **πῶς**, and should be separately noted in our lexicons. — **καὶ ἡντινοῦν**: an emphasized indef. demonstrative, as the form in **-ουν** always is; H. 251 and 816, a. — **πᾶν...ἂν...τολμῆσαι**, *that one would dare anything;* **ὅστις.. ἥκει**, *who has come;* **τούτου**, simply *his;* **ὅστις** and its antec., though indef., ref. with sufficient distinctness to Eratosthenes. — **ἑτέρους**: the adherents of the oligarchic party; many of these were still in the city, and of these not a few sitting as jurors in the present case, as appears from the speech.

85. ὧν ἀμφοτ.: neut. gen. after *ἐπιμελ.*; lit. *both which*, i. e. his contempt of you and his reliance upon the other party; render: *in either case it is worth your concern;* in the first case (*καταπεφρόνηκεν ὑμῶν*), the mention of the fact is enough; in the second (*ἑτέροις πεπίστ.*), he goes on to show why the subject demands their indignant attention. — **μὴ ἑτέρων συμπ.**, *if* (these) *others had not co-operated.* — **οὐ τούτοις...βοηθ.**, *not in order to succor these*, that is, *not merely;* **οὐ** often thus before **ἀλλά**; cf. § 11. The pl. here, *τούτοις*, though Eratosthenes was the only one on trial, shows that it was looked upon as a test case. Other indictments were doubtless hanging over the heads of the prominent supporters of the Thirty. — **ἄδειαν** is foll. by the limiting gen. and by **ποιεῖν**; H. 767; G. 261; ample security for the past and the future.

86. **καὶ τῶν ξυνηρούντων**: H. 570; ref. is made in this and the following section to two classes of the *οἱ...βοηθήσοντες*, above mentioned; first, the influential friends who by presence or by speech were to appear in his favor; and second, those who were summoned as witnesses for the defence. It was common in the Athenian courts for parties less skilled in public speaking to speak but briefly themselves, and leave the pleading mainly to be done by professional advocates (*οἱ συνδικεῖν ἐπιστάμενοι*, as they are called in Xen., *Memorab.* I. 2. 51). Notice that *συνηγόρευες*, § 25; *συνείπων*, § 34; and *ξυνερούντων*, here, were to the Greek ear one word in three tenses. — **καλοὶ κἀγαθοί**: the favorite party-name of the aristocracy; "the good and honorable men, the elegant men, the well-known, the temperate, the honest and moderate men, etc., — to employ that complimentary phraseology by which wealthy and anti-popular politicians have chosen to designate each other in ancient as well as in modern times." Grote, VIII. 16. — **πλείονος ἀξίαν**, *as outweighing* the villany of these. — **ἐβουλόμην ἄν**: cf. § 22; *I would, though, that they were as zealous.* — **ἢ...ἀπολογήσονται**, *or whether as powerful speakers they will plead for the defendant.* It is difficult to reproduce the slur contained in Lysias's time in the words **δεινὸς λέγειν**, when used to warn a court against the persuasive power of an opponent. The sophists and rhetoricians of the time were proverbially **δεινοὶ λέγειν**, and apt to make the worse appear the better reason. See the opening of Socrates's defence, as given by Plato.

87. **εὐήθεις**, *good-natured*, in the sarcastic tone that pervades the whole passage. — **εἰ ... ἡγοῦνται**: dep. on *νομίζοντες*. **τοῦ ὑμετέρου πλήθους**: Scheibe has the accus., but I follow Frohb. in preferring the gen. of the MSS.; the first **διά** is *through*; the second, *because of*; the two clauses connected by **μέν** and **δέ** are both co-ordinately dep. on **ἡγοῦνται**, but it will be seen that the sense is better preserved in Eng. by making the latter subordinate with *although*; the principle is the same as noticed in § 47. — **ἐπ' ἐκφορὰν ἐλθεῖν**: Frohb. appropriately quotes from Æsch. III. 235: "The Thirty did not allow the relatives of the deceased even to come to the funeral ceremonies and burial of the dead."

88. **σωθέντες**, *if they should be released*; H. 789, e; cf. 748; G. 277, 4; cf. 224. — **ἐκεῖνοι δέ**: there is plainly no antithesis here, as the sentence is completed. Possibly the emotion of the speaker has diverted his thought, and the sentence should read: *but they whom these destroyed, having ended life, are beyond the vengeance of their foes.* Cf. **τὸ...δέος**, in § 66. — **δεινὸν εἰ**: cf. § 36; **αὐτοῖς**: intens. with **τοῖς ἀπολ.**, which is dat. of advantage. — **ὁπότε**, *since, now that.* The defendant's funeral (to take place on the execution of the anticipated sentence) was likely to be a large one; this is sarcastic and harsh, but in keeping with the increasing bitterness of the speaker as he recalls the past.

89. **καὶ μὲν δή,** *and of a truth;* cf. § 30. The line of thought is a continuation of the preceding: And in thus undertaking the defence (*βοηθεῖν*) of Eratosthenes they certainly have a heavier task than it would have been to remonstrate with the Thirty and prove your innocence (*ἀντειπεῖν*). — **ῥᾷον**: the MSS. have *ῥάδιον*, but the emendation here given is that adopted by most edd. — **καίτοι λέγουσιν,** *they say, though;* **Ἐρατ.**: dat. of the agent after the perf. pass.; **ἐλάχ. τῶν τρι.,** *least of the Thirty;* *ἐλάχ.* is prob. adverbial. — **τῶν... πλεῖστα,** *more than any other of the Greeks;* this superl. with the gen. of distinction is a favorite usage in Greek; H. 586, c.

90. **δῆλοι ἔσεσθε ὡς ὀργ.,** *you will show yourselves to be indignant;* H. 797; G. 280, N. 1; for **ὡς**, see H. 795, e; the above translation would be correct, were *ὡς* omitted; its use, however, marks what is manifest not as an absolute fact, but *in the view*, or *judgment*, of the persons referred to. — **ὀφθήσεσθε**: syn. with *δῆλοι ἔσεσθε*. — **οὐχ ἕξετε**: in allusion to the current plea; cf. §§ 27 and 29.

91. **τούτων ἀποψηφ.,** *by acquitting these;* the plur. pron., as in § 85. — **κρύβδην**: not that each one's ballot was cast so as to be publicly known, — the Athenian law guaranteed the secrecy of the ballot. But it would be known, in case of acquittal, that it was due to the votes of the city-party among the judges, and they would be held responsible in the judgment of the community. In the next oration, § 36 *seq.*, it is described how the judicial proceedings under the Thirty disregarded the provision above named of the constitution. Another instance is that of the celebrated trial of the six generals after the battle of Arginusæ.

92. **ἑκατέρους,** *each party of you*, explained by the foll. appos. phrases; for the double accus., see H. 554; G. 171, N. 3, and R. The tone adopted toward the sympathizers with the oligarchy who sat among the judges, is quite different from that toward such as were appearing among the witnesses or advocates for the defence. — **παραδείγματα,** *as warning examples.* Note the order of the words in the preceding partic. phrase, and cf. with two similar phrases in § 77; this is the preferable order; see H. 532, a; Kühn. 245, Rem. 8. — **σφ. ἤρχεσθε,** *were under so violent a rule;* from *ἄρχομαι*. — **τοιοῦτον... ἐν ᾧ,** *such that in it*, a rel. cl. of consequence; **ἡττηθέντες... νικήσαντες,** *now that you have been defeated,... if you had been victorious;* **τὸ ἴσον**: cf. § 35.

93. **οὗτοι**: still ref. to the Thirty; **οἴκους,** *estates, property;* Xen. defines it in his *Œconomicus*, *κτῆσις ἡ σύμπασα*. — **μεγάλους**: pred. adj., after *ἐκτήσαντο, rendered;* so **πιστούς**, below. — **συνωφελεῖσθαι,** *to share the benefit;* it is pass. — **πιστοὺς... ἐκτῶντο,** *were attempting to gain your fidelity;* H. 702; G. 200, N. 2. — **ᾤοντο εἶναι,** *were expecting you to be;* the pres. inf., rather than the fut., after *οἴομαι* in this sense, is similar to the constr. in § 19.

94. ἀνθ' ὧν: *ἀντί, in return for*, gives *ἀνθ ὧν* and *ἀνθ' ὅτου* the causal meaning of *wherefore*. — **καθ' ὅσον**: i. e. so far as you have them in your power. — **τιμωρήσασθε**: a freq. word in Lysias, both in act. and mid.; *to avenge, to take vengeance;* if foll. by a word denoting the injury for which vengeance is taken, this is put in the gen., alone or with *ἀντί, ὑπέρ*, or *περί*. Usually, however, *ὑπέρ* is used with persons, = *in behalf of*, as here and in § 35. — **νῦν**: hyperbaton; cf. XXIV. 21. — **τοῖς πολεμίοις**: now in Eleusis. — **περὶ τῆς πόλεως**: the state was still in peril. — **τῶν ἐπικούρων**: the treason of the conspirators reached its climax when the Spartan Callibius with his garrison of 700 men was stationed in the Acropolis.

95. εἰκεῖν: after *πολλῶν*, H. 767, a; G. 261; **τοσαῦτα** from the context implies a negative, *this only, only so much*, ref. to what has been said in §§ 92–94. — **εἰρήνης οὔσης**, *in a time of peace;* **τὰ ὅπλα** is emphatically repeated. — **ἐξεκηρύχθητε**: the number of fugitives and exiles is estimated by Isocrates at 5000, by Diodorus at a much larger number, more than half of the citizens; so Frohb. — **ὑμᾶς...ἐξητοῦντο**, *demanded your rendition.*

96. The appeal to revenge and party animosity continues with increased vehemence; **ὀργίσθητε**, *let your indignation be kindled;* note the tense. — **οἳ...ἀπέκτειναν, κ. τ. λ.**: this is not a restrictive, but an explanatory relative clause; its antec. *αὐτῶν* is simply the unemphatic pers. pron.; see G. 148, N. 3. The better punctuation therefore, as preventing a misapprehension of the true construction, is a colon after *αὐτῶν*, rather than a comma, as most edd. have it. — **φονέας αὑτῶν**: by drinking the cup of hemlock-juice, cf. § 17. The mode of execution is not mentioned as in itself one of the items of tyranny, for it was that which the law gave to capital offenders who were of free birth; but that the victims were by arbitrary force made to take their own lives. It heightened the outrage against the dead that the burial rites, sanctioned by social custom and by religion, were denied them; adding arrogance and impiety to oppression. — **τῆς...τιμωρίας**: after the compar.; a similar phrase in § 88.

97. διέφυγον: the antec. of *ὅσοι* is in second pers. (see *ἦλθετε*, below); H. 886. — **πανταχοῦ ἐκηρυττόμενοι**: the same verb in §§ 35 and 95. The sufferings of the banished population must have been very great, especially as the most of the cities of Greece refused to harbor them, being either in alliance with Sparta or overawed by her; it was in the winter time, moreover, that the stress was felt, the three months following October, 404 B. C. — **ἐν πατρίδι**, *in your native land*, (then) *hostile.* — **ἦλθετε...Πειρ.**: cf. *εἰς τὸν* II. *κατῆλθον*, II. 61; this section is similar to several passages in the oration cited; cf. II. 69, 72.

98. καὶ...ἡμάρτητε, *and had failed in this;* H. 580; G. 171. — **ἂν δείσαντες ἐφ.**, *would have become terrified, and would (now) be in exile;* *δεισ.* is incep. aor., H. 708; G. 200, N. 5; **μὴ πάθητε**: dep. on *ἐφ.* —

ἃ: the antec. are *ἱερά, βωμοί*; **καί** = *even*; **τρόπους**, *conduct, proceedings.* — **ὅσοι...ἦσαν**: a condit. relat. clause, equiv. to *εἴ τινες ἦσαν*, a protasis of the second form; H. 755; G. 232, 2; *Gr. Moods*, 61, 2. — **ἐπὶ ξένης**: cf. *ἐν ξένῃ γῇ*, above; **συμβολαίων**, *debts*; the word denotes both the evidence of indebtedness (note its etymological meaning) and the indebtedness itself. — **ἂν...ἐδούλευον**: by "the old harsh law of debtor and creditor, once prevalent in Greece, Italy, Asia, and a large portion of the world." See further, Grote, III. p. 94 *seq.*

99. ἀλλὰ γάρ: see VII. 9. — **τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι**, lit. *those things which would have been about to be*; as is evident from the context, the part. is used as an imperf. (*Gr. Moods*, 16, 2) and **ἄν** is omitted with it, as often with **ἔμελλεν**; *Gr. Moods*, 49, 2 (e); Kühn. 260, Rem. 3. — **τῆς...ἐλλέλειπται**, *there has been no lack of zeal on my part*; the verb I take to be impers. (H. 694, a) and foll. by the gen. of want, and **οὐδέν** as accus. of specif. — **ἃ...ἀπέδοντο**: the selling of temple properties is not definitely attested, but was by no means uncommon in revolutions, on one pretext or another. — **ἐμίαινον**: because perjured and polluted by judicial murder. — **τῶν νεωρίων**, *the ship-yards*, including the docks, ship-houses, and the arsenal. Isocrates (*Areopag.* 67) mentions that these had been erected by the city at the cost of 1000 talents, and that the Thirty sold them for demolition for three talents. — **ἀποθανοῦσι**, *now that they are dead*; **βοηθήσατε**: imperat. as pred. of a relat. clause, as in § 60 and § 80.

100. ὑμῶν...φέροντας, *are both listening to us, and will recognize you as you cast your votes*; an opinion in harmony with the popular belief, but to which a widely current scepticism at this period refused acceptance. This is one of the very few passages in Lysias that give the slightest clew to his religious beliefs. On *θεός*, cf. note on XIII. 63. — **αὐτῶν...καταψηφ.**, *will be condemning them to death*; its subj. is *τοσούτους ὑμῶν*, antec. of *ὅσοι*; vividly and powerfully transferring those past issues of life and death to the present; the case is still pending; there is a new hearing before a new tribunal. The force of the appeal rests on the truth indicated in the significant words of *Matt.* xxiii. 25. — **πεποιημένους ἔσεσθαι**: a periphrastic fut. perf.; *Gr. Moods*, 29, N. 3. — Aristotle, at the close of his treatise on Rhetoric, commends a conclusion similar to this for its omission of connectives.

NOTES ON ORATION XIII.

In the MSS. ἐνδείξεως is added to the title; it is probably a mistake of the ancient editors who confounded the two very similar legal processes ἔνδειξις and ἀπαγωγή. See Introduction.

1. τιμωρεῖν: see XII. 94; τῷ πλήθει, τῷ ὑμετ.: on this phrase, which occurs repeatedly in this oration, see note on XII. 42; ὄντες: merely an attrib. part. — κηδεστής, in general *a relation by marriage*, here *a brother-in-law*. — ἐμοί, πλήθει: dat. of poss. after ὑπάρχ. Noticeable is the avowed recognition in the judicial orations of a personal feud or hostility (ἔχθρα), if based on actual injury received, as the rightful motive of prosecution; cf. XII. 2. — δι' ἃ, *that on account of them*; ὅς, inst. of the regular correl. οἷος (cf. § 36), following τοιοῦτος, as in § 13; XII. 92, *et al.* — τέ: used as a single connective chiefly in poetry, but also in Thucydides and Plato; cf. § 82; ἂν θεὸς θέλῃ: cf. Lat. *dis volentibus*, and later, in Christian writers, *Deo volente*. The use of θεός in the sing. in this current phrase of the Greeks is worthy of note.

2. ὧν δή, *whose* names *indeed;* to be read in the document mentioned in § 38; δή is used after a relative in a great variety of finely shaded meanings; here it seems mainly intended to give greater prominence to the clause, which is a so-called explanatory or parenthetic one. — ἄνδρας...ἀγαθούς: see XII. 75; γενόμενος, *by becoming;* part. of manner, H. 789, b; G. 277, 2. — ἰδίᾳ, *individually*, as dist. from κοινῇ. — οὐ μικρά, *not a little;* an ex. of the emphasis gained by litotes; cf. with μεγάλα, just before, and see οὐχ ἥκιστα, above.

3. δίκαιον καὶ ὅσιον: distinguished as the Lat. *jus* and *fas*, law human and law divine. — ποιοῦσι: condit., as shown by the foll. infin. with ἄν (taking the place of a pot. optat., H. 783; G. 211); ἄμ....γίγνεσθαι, *that we should fare better*, lit. *it would become better to us;* παρά, *from*.

4. The division indicated extends to § 42, as follows:

πρῶτον μέν, including §§ 5–17: the overthrow of the democracy;
ἔπειτα, including §§ 18–38: the crime of Agoratus;
καὶ δή, including §§ 39–42: the last injunctions of the deceased.

— **μαθόντες**, *on learning;* it has the force of a condit., as **τοιοῦσι** in § 3; **ἄν** belongs with the opt. The more the details of history should be known, the greater would be the pleasure and the plainer the duty of pronouncing the prisoner guilty. — **τουτουί**: H. 242; G. 83, N. 2. This inseparable demonstrative affix belongs to the familiar rather than to the elevated style; its frequent use by the speaker, as he points to Agoratus (cf. §§ 1, 33, 41, 56), accords with the contemptuous freedom with which he treats him throughout, as one of slave origin and base associations. — **ἐντεῦθεν, ὅθεν**: *thence, whence;* we may render them together: *where.* A Greek would say: Begin *thence*, i. e. *from that point*, where we should say: Begin *there*, i. e. *at that point.*

5, 6. γάρ, not *for;* it gives no reason; it refers to the previous mention or promise; technically called γάρ epexegetic, and usually omitted in Eng.; in XII. it is found at the beginning of § 6, but omitted in § 4. The battle of Ægospotami forms the starting-point of the narrative. — **οὐ...ὕστερον**, *not long afterwards*, added to **ἐπειδή**, making it more definite. — **καὶ ἅμα... ἐγίγνοντο**, *and at the same time conferences were taking place;* imperf. joined with **ἀφικν.**, an historical present; H. 699. — **τῆς εἰρήνης**: restrict. art., *the peace* which terminated the war. — **νεώτερα πράγματα**, *a revolution;* Lat. *novæ res.* — **εἰληφέναι**, *that they had found;* its subj. the same as of *νομίζ.* — **καταστήσασθαι**: after *καιρόν*; H. 767; G. 261.

7. σφίσιν: after **ἐμποδών**, G. 185; cf. H. 595, c, under which adverbs should be included. — **προστηκότας**, *leaders;* a word syn. with **δημαγωγοί**, but without its bad flavor; the orators, the so-called demagogues, not necessarily like those next named holding any official position. — **ἀμωσγέπως**: some edd. give the Attic form with the rough breathing; *somehow or other;* the word is literally *somehow at least.* — **βούλοιντο**: H. 757; G. 232, 4. — **ἐπέθεντο**, *set upon.* Cleophon, "the most influential demagogue," as Diodorus says, during the closing period of the Peloponnesian War, has had scant justice done him by many of the historians. Frohb. says: "A thorn in the eye of the oligarchic conspirators, he was, notwithstanding his recklessness and terrorizing, at bottom an honest and disinterested patriot, though not over-conscientious in the choice of his political methods."

8. ἐγίγνετο, *was in session.* This assembly was held about the beginning of the year B. C. 404, acc. to Xenophon; thus some 4 or 5 months after the battle of Ægospotami. — **ἐφ' οἷς**, *on what terms;* H. 825, and b; G. 282; the simple relative used in an indirect question, where we oftener have **ὅστις**; cf. § 4, **ᾧ τρόπῳ**. — **εἰ κατασκ.**: a subst. cl. in appos. with **οἷς**, *εἰ* to be rendered *that.* — **ἐπὶ δέκα στάδια**, *as much as ten stadia;* the phrase is used substant. and is subj. of the verb; H. 493, f. — **τότε**: correl. of **ὅτε**, above. — **οὐκ ἠνέσχεσθε**, *did not endure*, foll. by supplem. part.; explain the form of the verb; H. 314; G. 105, N. 3. — **εἴη**: for *ἐστί* of the direct form.

The proceedings here narrated, beginning with this section, were glanced at in Orat. XII. 68. See the story as told by Grote, VIII. p. 226 *seq.*, and in a more intelligible form by Curtius, III. p. 566 *seq.*

9. **αὐτοκράτορα,** *with full power, plenipotentiary;* **ὅτι** is not followed by its appropriate verb, but by **ποιήσειν** instead (an allowable anacoluthon). — **ὥστε...διελεῖν,** *so as neither to tear down any part of the walls.* — **ἄλλο ...μηδέν,** *in any other respect;* **διελεῖν** and **ἐλαττῶσαι** refer to Theramenes as their subj., acc. to Frohb., who compares this constr. with XII. 68; it seems better to consider the subj. general, referring to the government or citizens of Athens. — **οἴοιτο** : continuation of the indir. disc. after **λέγει ὅτι,** above.

10. **ἐκεῖνον,** *that one, him;* more emphatic than **αὐτόν.** The rejection of Theramenes, here mentioned, must have been within a year after the battle of Arginusæ and the unjust condemnation of the six generals; the disapprobation of the people may have been in consequence of the part he had taken in that trial. The strategi were not among the officers chosen by lot (for others see *Dict. Ant.* "Archairesiai"); after election they were liable to the trial of qualifications, before the Senate or a dicastery, and might then be rejected. See *Dict. Ant.*, "Docimasia."

11. **εἰς Λακεδαίμονα** : in this account Lysias briefly blends together the two missions of Theramenes, — one to the camp of Lysander, and the other to Sparta. It was in the former that he remained three months. — **ἐλθών** : temporal; **καταλιπών** : descriptive (G. 277, 6); **εἰδώς** : concessive; **νομίζων** : causal. We may render: *went to Sparta and remained,...leaving you besieged, though he was aware.* Frohb. considers **καταλιπών** to be causal after **εἰδώς.** The partt. in this and § 9 deserve special attention. — **τοὺς πολλούς,** *the mass of the people,* with **ὄντας,** in the same constr. as **τὸ...πλῆθος ...ἐχόμενον.** — **εἰ...ἀπόρως,** *if he should bring you into extremity, as he actually did.* — **ὁποιαντινοῦν,** *of any sort whatever;* H. 251; see Lex., **ὁποῖος.**

12. **δέ** : connects with **ἐκεῖνος μέν,** above. — **πρόφασιν** : adv. accus., so also **τὸ δ' ἀληθές.** The same occurs in Thucyd., VI. 33; **ἀναπ.,** *in order to rest;* the phrase **ἦλθεν εἰς τὰ ὅπλα** is general, and may refer to an evasion of hoplite service, or of military duty in any branch. — **ἐκείνῳ,** *for him;* for the trial of his individual case a court was made up, — a jury packed; **παρασκευάσαντες** is significant of the illegality; **καθίσαντες** is the usual term. This section closes the narrative concerning Cleophon, beginning at § 7 with **πρῶτον μέν**; § 13 goes on with **δέ.**

13. Strombichides, a commander whose name frequently occurs in the history of the Peloponnesian War, of strong democratic sympathies, as the customary phrase **εὐνοοῦντες ὑμῖν** indicates. — **προσιόντες,** *visiting, having an interview with.* — **ἦν,** *as;* after **τοιαύτην,** where we usually find **οἵαν;**

cf. note on § 1. — **ἔργῳ**, *by deed*, i. e. *by actual experience.* — **ἀπωλέσαμεν**, *we lost.*

14. **γάρ**: cf. § 5; **ἦν**: subj. *κατασκάψαι*: *it was* (in the treaty) *to demolish the long walls entirely.* With *ἐπὶ δέκα*, cf. § 8. — **ὅλα**: evidently emphatic, though not necessarily so from its pred. position. — **τὰ...παραδοῦναι,...καὶ τὸ...περιελεῖν**: both are co-ord. with *κατασκάψαι*. Observe the diff. bet. *περιελεῖν* and *διελεῖν*, and cf. note on § 9. In XII. 40, *καθεῖλον*, *demolished*, occurs as a syn. of *κατέσκαψαν*.

15, 16. **ὀνόματι**: the full antithesis would require the article, as in XX. 17, *τῷ μὲν ὀνόματι.* — **τῷ δ' ἔργῳ**: observe the force of the pres. in *καταλ.* — **οὐκ ἔφασαν**, *refused;* the foll. tense is not to be explained by the rules for indir. disc.; cf. the infin. in XII. 19, after *ᾤοντο*. It is not what they said, but the act, the determination that is thought of; *οὐ φημι* is often thus used. — **τείχη**: by prolepsis placed before the clause where it logically belongs; H. 726; we may render: *not because they were sorry that the walls were to fall.* The clause *εἰ...παραδοθ.* is also in its nature a subst. cl., *εἰ* being *whether.* — **αὐτοῖς**: H. 595, b; G. 184, 2, N. 1. — **τούτων**: H. 571; G. 170, 2. Let the student remember that a so-called *literal* translation of a sentence like this is not a translation into English. — **τὸ ὑμ. πλῆθος**: the syn., observe, of *τὴν δημοκρατίαν*, above. — **οὐδ'...οὐκ ἐπιθυμοῦντες**, *nor* (was it) *because they did not desire*, still explaining *οὐκ ἔφασαν*, above. An eloquent vindication of the motives of the democratic leaders. — **τῷ δ. τῶν Ἀθ.**: observe the partit. force of the gen. in this position; H. 559, d.

17. **ταῦτα** anticipates the cl. *ὅτι εἰσί*, which is in appos. with it. — **εἰσί, κωλύσουσι**: H. 735; G. 243. — **τὴν περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης**: the assembly held after Theramenes's return. Frohb. brackets these words as spurious, considering them inconsistent with § 15; but the inconsistency is only imaginary. — **πρὶν τὴν ἐκκ....γεν.**, *before the assembly concerning the peace was held.* A word here on an alleged inaccuracy of Lysias. Grote has placed these proceedings, related in §§ 18–38, after the surrender of the city and the entrance of Lysander (VIII. 235), referring especially to Xenophon, *Hell.* II. 2, 22, in proof that Lysias has misdated the occurrences in order to strengthen his plea. But the two accounts are not in conflict. Xenophon condenses into less than a dozen lines the announcement of the conditions of peace, their acceptance and ratification, the triumphant entrance of Lysander into the city, and the beginning of the demolition of the walls in accordance with the terms of the treaty. It is fair to interpret his statement in the light of Lysias's circumstantial narrative, instead of assuming that the announcement of Theramenes and the final vote on the acceptance of the peace both took place on one day in one session of the assembly. Had the advocates for the prosecution presumed on the poor memories of the entire

body of judges concerning events so recent and well known, the documents brought into court must of themselves have made such a distortion of facts ineffectual. The narrative given by Plutarch in the life of Lysander also implies that some days intervened between the assembly mentioned by Xenophon and the entrance of Lysander. It is an assumption on the part of Blass that they took place on the same day; a statement that Xenophon is by no means responsible for. — **εἰς διαβολάς**: *καθιστάναι τινὰ εἰς δ.* = *to bring one into ill-repute; καθεστηκὼς ἐν ταῖς δ.* = *to be in ill-repute.* — **τοιαύτην**: followed by **γάρ**, as in § 7.

18. οὐ ξυναδ. ἐκείνοις, *not that he was privy to their plans*, i. e. the plans of the generals and the taxiarchs; instead of a corresponding causal part., afterwards we find **ἔδόκει**; **οὐδέν** is adv. accus., *in any respect;* its position makes it emphatic. — **περὶ...πράττοντες**, *engaged in;* the phrase is rare; **πιστόν**, *trustworthy.* — **δοῦλον καὶ ἐκ δούλων**: a frequent missile of invective in the courts, and, unless accompanied by proof, often to be taken with deductions. The ancient as well as the modern bar allowed considerable freedom in using the vocabulary of assault. Cf. § 64. — **αὐτοῖς**: i. e. Theramenes and his confederates.

19. ἄκοντα, ἐκόντα: pred. adj. agree with **αὐτόν**; *they wished him, therefore, to seem to make his disclosures reluctantly, and not willingly.* — **ὅπως πιστότερα ὑμῖν ὑποφαίνοιτο**: thus the MSS. Frohb. suggests *ὅπως πιστοτέρα ἡ μήνυσις φαίνοιτο.* As it stands in the text, the subj. is *τὰ μηνυθέντα* understood; *ὑποφ.* is difficult to explain; Rauch. "*might gradually appear*"; L. & S. "*might just appear*"; *might appear somewhat more credible to you*, is perhaps nearly the meaning. Kayser emends the text so as to read *οὕτω φαίνοιτο.* — **καὶ ὑμᾶς**, *that you also.* — **τὸν τοῦ Ἐλ. καλ.**, *known as the son of Elaphostictus;* the name (*ἔλαφος* and *στίκτος*, *Spotted Deer*) probably of some slave or freedman.

20. διέφθαρτο: it had become the tool of the oligarchic conspirators; one of their first steps was to get control of the Senate. — **τεκμήριον**: H. 501; 502, c. — **οἱ...πολλοί**, *the majority;* **ἐπί**, *during the administration of.* — **ἐβούλευον**: render, *were members of; βουλὴν βουλεύειν* usually means *to give counsel.* In the sense *to be a Senator* it is not often foll. by a cogn. acc., as here; **ὑστέραν**, i. e. *of the succeeding year.* — **ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ τῇ ὑμετ.**, *out of good-will to you;* H. 677; G. 147, N. 1. — **τοῦ δήμου τοῦ ὑμ.**: evidently syn. with *τοῦ ὑμ. πλήθους*; but Lysias only uses it, says Frohb., in one other place; cf. § 51. — **ἐλέγετο**, *were adopted;* strictly, *were proposed.* — **αὐτοῖς**: ref. to *τὰ ψηφίσματα.* — **καὶ...προσέχητε**, *and that you may regard them as such.*

21, 22. ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ, sc. *οὔσαν*, *when in secret session;* ordinarily the sessions were public. — **τότε καθ.**, *then in progress;* observe the force of the pres. — **μὲν οὖν**: marking the transition to a special point; *now their*

names, etc. One expects an adversative particle. — **τὰ...καί**: connect *ὀμωμ.* and *εἶναι* (in ind. disc. after *ἔφη*), which give the two assigned reasons; the subj. of *ὀμωμ.* refers to Theocritus; **ἐκείνοις**: H. 603, 2; G. 186. — **ἐμηνύετο** denotes past time, as shown by the foll. aor.; H. 746, a; G. 222; by what tense to be rendered? — **ἀνώνυμον**, *without furnishing names;* the reader will note that *anonymous* in Eng. has usually a more restricted sense than the Greek word. — **νυνὶ δέ**: cf. XII. 23, note.

23. ἐπί, "*for, after, in quest of*" (L. & S.); **ἄγειν**, *to bring*, the context implying *to arrest.* — **παραγενόμενος**: H. 511, h; G. 138, N. 2, b; cf. *γνούς*, § 17. Who the Nicias and Nicomenes mentioned were, is not known. They and their companions were of the popular party, while Agoratus (so the foll. argument seeks to prove) was acting *ἐκ παρασκευῆς* with the oligarchy. — **οἷα βέλτ.**: strengthened superl.; H. 664. Observe the litotes; the condition of things in the city was anything but satisfactory to the popular party. — **οὐκ...προήσεσθαι**, *declared that they would not allow;* the subj. of **ἄγειν** is understood; **μέν** contrasts not *ἄγειν*, but the whole clause, with what follows.

24, 25. τῶν ἐγ....κωλυόντων: pres. of continued action; they took down the names in the midst of the proceedings; **ἀπιόντες ᾤχ.**: H. 801, 5; G. 279, N. — **Μουν.**: H. 205; G. 61, N. 2; cf. **Ἀθήνηθεν**, below. This altar was in the temple of Artemis, a famous asylum in those times. — **παρορμίσαντες**: *παρά* = *alongside*, i. e. of the shore; **παντὶ τρόπῳ**, *by all means;* dat. of manner, equiv. to a modal adv. limiting the infin.; **αὐτοῦ**: *δέομαι, to entreat*, is generally foll. by the gen., as in its original sense. — **ἕως...καταστ.**: dep. probably on an implied verb; they promised to remain with him until the affairs of the city were restored to a better condition; **αὐτοί**: agrees with the subj. of *συνεκπλευσ.*, i. e. the sureties; H. 775, b; G. 138, N. 8. — **εἰ κομισθείη**: ind. disc. after a past tense for *ἐὰν κομισθῇς*. A similar constr. in XII. 14, last sentence; H. 736; G. 247; **ὑποβάλωσιν**: the form of the hypoth. relat. cl. is unchanged from dir. disc.; see *Gr. Moods*, 74, N. 1.

26. ταῦτα: cogn. acc. The foll. partt. are plainly concessive. — **αὐτῶν**: intens.; to accompany him *themselves.* — **τί σοι...παρεσκ.**, *there had been something concerted by you;* see *ἐκ παρασκευῆς*, § 22. — **πῶς...ᾤχου**, *would you not have gone?*

27, 28. ἀλλὰ μέν δή strongly emphasize the negative: *nay more, you and they were not in like condition;* **γέ** belongs with **ὅμοια** somewhat as *γέ* with *ἀξίους*, XII. 20. On the exemption of Athenian citizens from torture, see *Dict. Ant.*, "Basanos." — **σφετ. αὐτῶν**: H. 675, b; G. 137, N. 1; **ταῦτα μ. λυσιτ.**, *that this was better, more advantageous.* — **τῶν...ἀγαθούς**, *many good citizens;* **ὑπό** after **ἀπολέσθαι**, owing to the implied passive force of the verb. — **βασανισθῆναι**: dep. on *κίνδυνος*, subj. of *ἦν*; **μᾶλλον**...

συνέφερεν, *it was more advantageous;* observe the omiss. of **ἄν**; H. 746, b; G. 222, N. 1. — **ἄκων**: agr. with **σύ**, the implied subj. of the inf. which is to be supplied from the foll. **ἀπέκτειναs**, *that* (you did it) *unwillingly.* — **σοῦ**: after **καταμαρτ**. A marked instance of hyperbaton for the sake of emphasis; emphasis is evidently laid on the second pers. pron. throughout this passage.

29, 30. οἱ ἐκ τῆς β., *the committee from the Senate;* doubtless mentioned in the decree just read; perhaps composed of the same persons as before, and sent back to Munychia with the necessary instructions; **Μουνυχίαζε**: see reff. on **Μουνυχίασιν** in § 24, and H. 204. — **ἀπογράφει**, *deposes to;* in this oration generally *to inform against, denounce;* the clerk recording the names given in. — **ἡ...ἀρχή**: pred. after **ἐγένετο**. All the subsequent calamities followed, so the orator views it, because of the murder of the patriotic leaders, and this murder is laid to Agoratus; see § 33. — **ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ**: see Introd.; used here loosely, *by incontestable facts.* For an example of the **ἐρώτησις**, see XII. 25.

31. οὕτω.. ἔρρωτο, *so strongly determined was the Senate;* **καὶ...ἐδόκει**, *besides, he himself did not seem;* two reasons are parenthetically given by the speaker; their own persistency and the demeanor of Agoratus himself both led them to seek for further disclosures; as to its being *the truth*, that is the speaker's irony. There was evidently more that he might be induced to tell. — **τούτους...ἅπαντας**, *all these therefore;* i. e. those referred to in § 30; the antithesis indicated by **μέν** is not given. The point made by the speaker is that up to a certain limit no reluctance had been shown by Agoratus in making his disclosures. Frohb. and Rauch. omit the words in brackets. In both these sections the MS. readings are unsatisfactory.

32. θεάτρῳ: the Dionysiacum, the theatre situated on the western slope of the hill of Munychia; an unusual and irregular place of meeting. — **καὶ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ**, *also in the popular assembly;* as well as in the Senate, — in order to give more nearly the semblance of legality to their proceeding, especially in the case of these officers who were elected by popular vote. — **ἀπέχρη**: not impersonal, as usually employed; its subj. is **ἡ...γεγ**. — **ἔξαρνον...γενέσθαι**, *to deny;* see XII. 31. Some gesture or word of reluctance on the part of Agoratus may explain the **ἀλλά**.

33, 34. The decrees read at this point in the trial, — decrees passed by this assembly in Munychia, — were of course concerning the arrest and examination of the persons denounced. — **καὶ τὰ...δήμῳ**: sc. **ἀπογραφέντα**. — **σχεδόν τι...ἐπίστ.**, *pretty well understand;* **σχεδόν** is freq. used with **οἶδα** and like verbs; cf. Demosth., *Ol.* III. 9: **σχηδὸν ἴσμεν ἅπαντες δήπου**. — **οὐδ' ὑφ' ἑνός**, *not even by one;* the two separate words more emphatic than **οὐδενός**. The cl. **ὡς...ἐγένετο...προσήκει** is obj. of **ἀποδείξειν**.

35. **τότε**: then and not till then could the disgrace of the surrender and the oligarchic revolution be consummated; **λιμένας**: a good map of Athens will show how the Piræus peninsula was indented with harbors. — **τί...ἐγένετο**: this abrupt, indignant question closes the sentence with great force. — **κατεστάθησαν**: cf. XII. 5: *εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέστησαν*, this latter form being more commonly employed. — **κρίσιν...ἐποίουν**, *they instituted a trial;* **δέ**, *but*, or, *while on the contrary.* — **ἐν τῷ...δισχιλίους**: Frohb. supposes these words to be cited from the decree; *ἐν δισχ.*, *before two thousand;* *ἐν* freq. = Lat. *coram;* see Lex.; *κρίσιν ποιεῖν* completes the construction; **ἐψηφίσατο**, *had decreed;* H. 706; *Gr. Moods*, 19, N. 4. As Frohb. remarks, the number of judges named in the decree of the assembly shows the great importance attached to this trial; only two cases are known in which this number was exceeded. — **ἀνώγνωθι**: to the clerk of the court, *ὁ γραμματεύς*.

36. **ἐκρίν.**, **ἐσώζ.**, instead of the aor., though ref. to past time, perhaps because of the number of persons referred to; making it, as it were, a case of repeated action. Cf. Plato, *Gorg.* 516, E., as quoted in *Gr. Moods*, 49, 2. — **ἅπαντες γάρ, κ. τ. λ.**, *for all of you were at length convinced in what evil plight the city was;* **κακοῦ**: gen. after adv., H. 589; G. 182, 2; **ἐν ᾧ**, *when.* — **νῦν δέ**, *but as it was;* ref. to the supposition above. The same use of *νῦν* as in XII. 23.

37. **βάθρων**: seats by the bema, either in front or on each side. It is worth while to picture this proceeding clearly to one's self, and to understand in what respects it differs from a lawful trial. On the usual method of voting in the Athenian courts, see a good account given in *Dict. Ant.*, "Psephos." — **τραπέζας**: the ballots were deposited on the tables, rather than as usual in urns (*καδίσκοι*), in order to make the vote as public as possible. Each Senator, it will be observed, deposited only one ballot, — if he voted to acquit, on the table farther forward, and nearer to the seats of the Thirty. The usual method of having two ballots cast by each dicast, as well as the use of urns, contributed to insure the privacy of the vote; the dicasts having one ballot of each kind, — for acquittal and condemnation, the former white, and the latter black, say, — could prevent any one's knowing which had been placed in the judgment urn; and the more easily, because the second urn enabled them to dispose of the unused ballot in an equally unobserved manner.

38, 39. **οὐδενὸς...πλὴν Ἀγοράτου**: for this fact we have only the statement of the speaker; if there were other instances of acquittal, they were doubtless sufficiently rare. On the escape of Menestratus, see § 55. — **ἄφεσαν**: (*ἀφίημι*). — **ὡς πολλοί**: also in § 44. It fixes attention upon the number, and thus is not precisely the same as *ὅσοι*, which is often rendered *how many*, without emphasizing upon the number. — The prison-scene here

described must have been of frequent occurrence during these times; **μεταπέμπει...ὁ μὲν ἀδελφήν**, *one sends for a sister to come to the prison.* — **ὁ δ' ἥ τις...προσήκουσα**, *and others for whatever female relative each of them had.* A similar clause in XII. 18. — **τὰ ὕστατα**: H. 555; G. 159, N. 2; **τούς** before **αὐτῶν** disregards the gender of the nouns to which it refers, the thought being of the kindred in general.

40. **καὶ δὴ καί**, *likewise Dionysodorus also; καὶ δή = and truly, and especially, even so;* cf. § 4; **μέλαν τε**: *τέ* here would seem to require *καί* with another part. (perhaps **ἀποκειραμένη**, *shorn in token of grief*) after it. Black was the mourning color among the Greeks generally; in Argos white also was worn. — **ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ...κεχρημένῳ**, *on account of her husband's having experienced*, etc.; the prep. belongs not to the noun alone, but to the part. with its subject-noun. There is a similar example in Demosth., *Phil.* I. 51; for a fuller discussion of such constructions, see an article by the editor in the *Transactions of the American Philological Association* for 1872.

41, 42. **διέθετο**, *disposed of, bequeathed.* Notice the full weighty form **τῆς ἀδελφῆς τῆς ἐμῆς**, as above; the full and careful use of the pronouns in this passage brings the various persons concerned into more distinct view; **τιμωρεῖν**: see note on XII. 94. — **ἐὰν γένηται**, *if* a child *should be born;* rendered by *should* because of the ind. disc. — **φράζειν τῷ γενομένῳ**, *to explain to the child;* part. neut., according to Frohb., but it may be taken as masc.; notice the use of this aor. part. having the force of a fut. perf. We see how revenge was transmitted from generation to generation in ancient times, and wrought into the very system of law.

The statement of facts, which properly ends with § 42, is continued to § 48, giving another glance at the calamities drawn upon the state and the citizens of Athens.

43, 44. **ἀπογραφέντες**: see note on § 30; **ὑπό** may be taken with both verbs. — **ἀπ. αὐτούς**, *by having caused their death.* — **ἀνιῶμαι...ὑπομ.**, *now I am sorry to be recalling.* This is the resumptive use of *οὖν*; see L. & S., II.; on the use of the part. here instead of the infin., see H. 802; more fully, Kühn. 311. — **ὡς σφόδρα...προσήκει**, *how exceedingly you ought to pity;* some of the earlier editors, Docti viri! used to emend by inserting *οὐ*, being unable or unwilling to see the irony. — **τῶν πολιτῶν**: partit. gen. after *τοὺς...κομισθέντας*, H. 786, a; an exceptional arrangement (H. 559, d), and in Lysias, according to Frohb., only found once. On the arrest and wholesale execution of citizens resident in Eleusis and Salamis, cf. XII. 52. The execution of Leon of Salamis attracted special attention; see Grote, VIII. p. 244. These two cities were at this time Attic demes, and not cities in the full Greek sense. — **ἰδίας ἔχθρας**: a time of settling up long standing feuds and grudges.

45, 46. αἰσχίστῳ...ἀπόλλυσθαι, *to perish by a most disgraceful and inglorious death.* — **αὐτῶν**: H. 675, b; G. 137, N. 1; *αὐτῶν*, just below, has the same constr. — **καταλείποντες**: the progressive pres. accords with the imperf. *ἠναγκάζοντο*, ref. to the repeated instances; **οἱ μέν** is correlative with **οἱ δὲ...οἱ δέ**, below. — **τελευτήσειεν**: opt. of ind. disc., instead of the subj. with **ἄν**; H. 738; G. 248. — **ταφήσεσθαι** (*θάπτω*): the classical student needs hardly to be reminded of the weight and solemnity attached to the obligation of children and surviving friends to bury the dead with due ceremony and honors. — **θεραπείας**: gen. after a verb of need. — **οὓς**: a question is begun with a rel. much oftener in Greek than would be allowable in Engl.; for **ποίαν τινά**, *what sort of a*, see H. 683. — **τῶν ἡδίστων**, *of the dearest possessions;* probably neut. — **ὡς κατεσκάφη**: to be connected with **ἵστε** and *μέμνησθε*, in § 44; so that § 45 and § 46, down to **ἔτι**, are parenthetical; **νεώρια**: cf. XII. 99. — **ἡ δύναμις...παρελύθη**, *the whole power of the city was broken*, strictly, *relaxed*, or, to use the Greek word, *paralyzed.*

47, 48. τὸ τελευταῖον, *finally;* adv. accus.; **ἀπωλέσατε**: cf. *ἀπωλέσαμεν*, § 13. — **συλλήβδην...ἐξηλάθητε**, *you were driven forth in a body;* the number of those forced into exile, Isocrates says, was about 5,000; according to Diodorus, more than half of the citizens, which would be more than 10,000; this must be intended to include the large class who took up their residence in the Piræus, or else it is an exaggerated estimate. — **οὐκ ἔφασαν ἐπιτρέψαι**: see § 15, and note. — **οὓς...βουλομένους, κ. τ. λ.**, *and these, who wished to secure some advantage to the state.* — **αἴτιος εἶ**, *art the cause of, art responsible for;* as in § 43. — **καὶ τῶν ἰδίων...καί**, *not only each one his own misfortunes, but also;* note the mid. *τιμωρεῖσθε*, and cf. XII. 94.

49, 50. ὅ τί ποτε, *in what possible way.* — **ὅπερ**, *precisely which;* the clause more freely, *which is just what he would never be able to prove;* with Frohb., I retain the second *ἀποδεῖξαι*. — **τοῦ δήμου**, *of the people*, i. e. *τῆς ἐκκλησίας*, as in § 32; **αὐτοῦ** follows the compound *καταμ.*; as to its position, cf. *σοῦ*, § 28. — **ἣν ἐκρίθη**, *which was pronounced upon him*, lit. *as to which he was sentenced;* H. 555, a; G. 159, N. 4; 197, N. 2. — **καὶ ἀφείθη**, *and was acquitted;* appended to the rel. cl., not a part of it. — **φησίν**, *saith it;* the conversational repetition of *λέγει*; *εἰσαγγέλλω* is syn. with *μηνύω*; see §§ 19, 48, etc.; cf. *ἀπογράφω*.

The omitted documents are called: DECREES, SENTENCE, INDICTMENTS. The *γνῶσις* is mentioned above as *ἡ κρίσις*, *the sentence* or *verdict.* Properly it denotes the judicial investigation itself; here, its result or record. Frohb. omits the third title, *γραφαί*, as their reading is not called for by the orator.

51, 52. ὡς δικ... ταῦτα, *that he brought these charges justly*, i. e. that they were well founded; **ὁρῶν**, *because he saw.* — **τῷ δήμῳ**: see § 20, and

note. — **τὶ κακόν**: first obj. of *εἰργ.*; **δεδιότες, κ. τ. λ.** (δείδω), *for fear that the democracy would be overthrown*; on **ἄν**, see *Gr. Moods*, 46, N. 3; the part. is causal, as ὁρῶν, above; **ἂν...ἀπέκτειναν**: qualified by **οὐ** at the beginning of the sentence. — **πολὺ τοὐναντίον τούτου**, (that they would have done) *quite the opposite of this.* — **οὐκ οἶμαι**: this sentence is noticeable for its negatives; οὐκ οἶμαι οὐδέ form one negative expression, acc. to H. 843; G. 283, 8; **οὐ** before τούτου is a usual repetition of the negative on account of the interposed clauses; οὐ before δεῖν belongs to the last phrase alone. — **οὐδ' ἐάν τις...ὡς μάλιστα**, *even if one ever so undesignedly*; for the latter phrase, see note XXII. 1. — **ὧν**: gen. after ὑπερβολήν; in this instance, the limiting gen. seems to denote distinction; render, *which cannot be exceeded.* The more distinctly these scenes of outrage and blood come into view, the more we wonder at the restraint rather than at the exaggeration of the contemporary orators; **οὐ δεῖν ὑμᾶς ἀμύνεσθαι**, *that you ought not to punish him.* — **ἐκείνων**, *this*; ref. to what follows; H. 679, b. As to the fact mentioned, cf. § 24.

53, 54. **καίτοι**, *and yet*; adversative to an implied: "You did not do this." — **εἰ...ἐπίθου**, *if you had yielded*; H. 746; G. 222. — **νῦν δέ**: cf. note on § 36. — **εἰ...εἴποις** depends upon **διαπράξασθαι**; it may be regarded as the indirect form for ἐὰν...εἴπω, like εἰ...κομισθείης in § 25; see note. On **ᾤου** (fr. οἶομαι) with aor. inf., cf. XII. 19; **μέγα τι**: easy vernacular for *some great reward.* — **οὔκουν τούτου ἕνεκα δεῖ σε**, *you ought not, therefore, on that account.* — **ὁ Καριδεύς**, *of the Phrygian city Caris* (not mentioned in *Dict. Geog.*). — **τῇ αὐτῇ αἰτίᾳ τούτῳ**, *on the same charge as he*; H. 603; G. 186. — **ὁ μὲν...Ξενοφῶν**: Ξεν. in apposition with ὁ μέν. — **οὕτω**: in some edd. (the MSS. vary) there is no lacuna after οὕτω, and it is interpreted as a colloquial *so* or *merely so*, i. e. *in the usual manner.* — **τὰ ἤδιστα**: here is the bitterness of tone that is constantly reappearing in the orations subsequent to the war. The horrible scenes of the tyranny were to the Thirty τὰ ἥδιστα.

55. **εἰς Μενέστρατον, κ. τ. λ.**, *throws some of the blame concerning the depositions upon Menestratus*; **τὶ**: obj. of **ἀναφέρειν**, *to charge blame or responsibility upon.* — **δημότης τοῦ Μεν.**, *of the same deme as M.*; the pred. is **ἦν**, *and there was*, etc. — **ἡ ἐκκλησία**: referred to in § 32. — **ἅμα μὲν...ἅμα δέ**, *at the same time.. and*; **ἀπογ. ἀπολέσθαι**, *should be informed against and put to death*; cf. § 43.

56, 57. **καὶ προσαπογράφει**, *and in addition* (to those informed against by Agoratus) *denounces.* — **δόξαντα...εἰσαγγ.**: causal; *because he seemed*, etc.; possibly quoted from the decree or record. — **λαβόντες ἐν δικαστηρίῳ**, *having gotten him into court*; cf. XII. 35; **πολλῷ χρόνῳ ὕστερον**, *a long time afterward*, is particularly stated by way of answer to an objection about to be mentioned in § 83. — **τῷ δημίῳ**: the executioner is oftener called

ὁ δημόσιος. Beating to death with a club was a frequent punishment for murderers, kidnappers, and like criminals. — **εἰ ... ἀπέθανεν**: H. 745; G. 221. — **ἦπου Ἀγόρατός γε,** *surely Agoratus;* an emphatic falling circumflex on the name best reproduces *γέ*. — **ὃς γε, κ. τ. λ.,** *since at least he, having informed against Men., is the cause.* — **τίς αἰτιώτερος,** *who is more responsible;* **τοῦ θανάτου** is understood; a sudden change in the sentence to the livelier interrogative form.

58, 59. καὶ τό γε ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον εἶναι, *and at least as far as it depended upon him;* **ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ** is more common, but both the dat. and accus. are in use; the infin. is used as a kind of adv. accus.; H. 772; G. 268. — **οὔτ' ἂν αὐτὸς σὺ ... κατέστης,** *nor would you yourself have been brought;* the protasis is to be supplied: "If you had followed his advice." — **νῦν δέ,** *but as it is.* — **οὐ καθαρῶς Ἀθηναῖον ὄντα**: for one to be *καθαρῶς Ἀθηναῖος*, both his father and mother had to be Athenians. The decree of the assembly here read seems to have instituted a process depriving Agoratus of his rights of citizenship.

60, 61. οἱ πράττοντες, κ. τ. λ., *those who had the administration of affairs at that time;* i. e. those who were active in the revolution; **κατειπεῖν,** *to disclose.* — **ἀγωνισάμενον τῆς ξενίας,** *being tried for usurping the rights of citizenship;* H. 577, b; G. 173, 2. An alien found guilty of having usurped Athenian citizenship was liable to confiscation of property, and to be sold into slavery. Aristophanes was in danger of this, and also of being tortured for disclosures concerning the so-called treasonable plots. See *Dict. Ant.*, "*ξενίας γραφή*." — **περὶ τοὺς δεδεμένους,** *with respect to*, or *toward, those who had been imprisoned;* his fellow-prisoners." — **καὶ ὑπὸ σοῦ ἀπολλύμενος,** *even when suffering death from you;* **τοιουτοσί**: note the deictic force: "Look on this picture, and then on that!" — **οὐδὲν ... συνειδώς**: cf. note, § 18. — **πεισθεὶς δὲ ... μεθέξειν,** *yet being persuaded that you would share;* **τότε** qualifies *καθισταμένης*, which, contrary to the usual order in such cases, is placed after the noun.

62. οὐ πολλοί, *few;* *οὐ* belongs closely with the adj., as if the two made a compound word, and hence it is not changed to *μή* on account of the cl. being conditional; H. 842. Frohb. endeavors to explain it on the principle of ind. disc. — **νῦν δὲ συλλήβδην,** *but now* (I will speak, — or *ἀκούσεσθε* understood) *of them in general.* — **οἱ μὲν ... παρεδίδοσαν**: I have adopted Rauchenstein's punctuation, as representing the more probable construction; *for some* (of them), etc., *delivered over ... the city increased in power* (*μείζω*). — **οἱ δ' ἄρξαντες,** *while those who held other high offices.* Then follows, in § 63, a brief, broken utterance, suitable to the emotions suggested, in honor of the living as well as the dead, — making grateful mention of their preservation, and of their return for the deliverance of their country.

63. **οἱ δ' αὐτῶν**, *and some of them;* this nom. remains without a verb, the constr. abruptly changing after **περιεσ.** — **οὗτος μὲν...ἡ δέ**: boldly and strikingly put; *he* slew them, fortune and the deity saved them. — **τύχη, δαίμων**: a glimpse, though vague, of Lysias's religious conceptions. Both words occur again in XXIV. 22, with no sharp distinction between them. But **ὁ δαίμων** is more distinctly personal, *the god*, the personal power controlling any human destiny. The words in II. 78, "the god to whom our destiny is allotted," point to the prevailing polytheistic view. According to Frohb., **θεός** is nowhere found in Lysias, except in the stereotyped phrase **ἂν θεὸς θέλῃ**. — **Φυλῆς**: "On the straight foot-path from Athens to Thebes, beneath vertical walls of rock which are visible from Athens, lay the fort of Phyle, a small castle with a circumference of about 900 feet, completely shutting off the narrow mountain-path, and from its elevation (2,000 feet above the sea) offering an open view over the whole plain of Athens, and over the Saronic Gulf as far as the coasts of Peloponnesus. The castle-hill itself has a precipitous declivity, and is only on the east side accessible by a small path; further down wooded gorges descend, which in the winter render the locality still more difficult of access; while at the base of the mountain-range is spread out the broad district of Acharnæ, whose peasants were the most vigorous and liberty-loving among the inhabitants of Attica." Curtius, *History of Greece*, Vol. IV. p. 45. — **κατελθόντες...τιμῶνται**, *they returned and are honored;* the latter part. is more closely connected with the pred. than the others. The first three, indeed, may be considered as causal and explanatory to **κατελθ.**

64. **τούτους μέντοι**, *these men, I say;* the particle has its positive, confirmative tone here, I think; yet as an adversative it serves to mark a sharp return to the topic in hand. — **τίς ὢν αὐτός**, *but who was he?* — **δοῦλος**: see § 18; **ἐγένετο**, *belonged to, was the property of;* the circumstances of the case show that the foll. are genitives of possession.

65. These sections (65, 66) are regarded by Scheibe, Rauch., and others as spurious. **πολλά**: obj. of **λέγειν**; arrange: **τἄλλα κακὰ καὶ αἰσχρά, ὅσα.** — **τοῖς τούτου ἀδελφοῖς**: this mention of the brothers of Agoratus does not seem to come in suitably before § 67. It is one of the reasons for considering this passage to be an interpolation. — **περὶ δὲ συκοφαντίας**, *but as to the crime of sycophancy*, announces the topic of the sentence in so general a way that the art. is omitted. — **ὅσας...ἀπέγραφεν**, freely, *either how many private suits he brought as a malicious informer, or how many public prosecutions he instituted, or how many denunciatory lists he handed in.* — **συκοφαντίας αὐτοῦ κατέγνωτε**, *found him guilty of sycophancy.* **συκ.** is gen. of cause (H. 577, b; G. 173, 2), and **αὐτοῦ** after the comp. verb; this verb usually has an accus. instead of the first gen.

66. **ὤφλησεν** (**ὀφλισκάνω**): **ὦφλεν** is the usual form. — **τοιοῦτος ὢν**...

ἐπεχείρησε, *though he was such* (i. e. of slavish origin), *he attempted*; **ἐλευθέρας**, *free-born women*, agrees with **γυναῖκας**.

67, 68. ὁ πρεσβύτερος: English usage in such cases is to say, *the eldest*, but Lat. and Greek alike often use the compar. — **παραφρυκτωρευόμενος... ληφθείς**, *having been caught treacherously making signals to the enemy*; the first part. is used predicatively after the second; H. 799; G. 279. Cf. **ἑλήφθη μοιχός**, § 66. The meaning of **παρά** in this compound is *aside*, *amiss*, hence the sense of *falsely*, *treacherously*. — **ἀπεστυμπανίσθη**: cf. § 56; **ἕτερος**, *second*. — **ἐκεῖθεν**, i. e. from Corinth; **παιδίσκην ἀστῆς**, *a female slave of a woman who was a citizen* of Corinth. An **ἀνδραποδιστής**, *kidnapper*, whether of free persons or slaves, was punished with death. — **λωποδύτην**, *as a thief*; here in its generic sense; but observe its original meaning. — **ἀποτυμπανίσαι**, infin. of purpose after **παρέδοτε**.

69–71. ἦ που...γέ: as in § 57. — **τοῦ...ἐξημαρτ.** is the obj. of **καταψηφίσασθαι**, but is repeated in **αὐτοῦ**; it may be rendered by a clause: *surely, since he has committed many offences*, etc. — **ὧν...ἁμαρτήματος**, *of each of which offences*; the antec. of **ὧν** is **πολλά**. — **Φρύνιχον**: Phrynichus, with Antiphon, was a leader of the ultra faction among the Four Hundred, 411 B. C.; as was Critias in the second oligarchy, the Thirty. Concerning his assassination, see Curtius, III. p. 480 *seq.*, or Grote, VIII. p. 66. The discordance between the accounts given by Thucydides and Lysias (referred to by Grote in his note, p. 85), is not material. The statement of the former evidently needs to be supplemented and corrected by that of Lysias, whose several references to this event are consistent with each other, and in part corroborated by other sources. The speaker's rehearsal of some of the details (not elsewhere given), is necessary in order to show that Agoratus has not the slightest legitimate claim to citizenship, — a fact doubtless sufficient, if proven, to turn the verdict against him. In § 75 he further turns the argument into a dilemma. Suppose Agoratus did have a hand in the assassination of Phrynichus; the latter was an oligarch whose death the present oligarchy, the Thirty, would have been only too ready to avenge upon Agoratus when he came into their power, had he not earned their favor by doing irreparable damage to the popular party. Among other rewards for this assassination, Apollodorus received an estate in the outskirts of the city that had belonged to Pisander, and had been confiscated; mentioned in Orat. VII. 4 — **βαδίζοντι**, *as he was walking*. — **καταβάλλει πατάξας**, *fells him with a blow*; the part. is adverbial; H. 789, b; G. 277, 2. The speaker has in mind to show that the manner of Phrynichus's death gave no room for the assistance of Agoratus. — **ἅμα τούτῳ**, *thereupon*. — **οὔτε παρεκλήθη**, *was neither called in to help*.

72. οὐδαμοῦ γάρ ἐστιν, *for nowhere is it*; i. e. is it written; **ἐστίν** in the sense of **ἔνεστιν**, having **εἶναι** for its subj.; cf. **ἦν**, § 14. — **ἴδει**: **ἄν** omitted;

H. 746, b; G. 222, N. 2; render: *his having been made an Athenian ought* (to have been inscribed) *on the very same pillar with Thrasybulus and Apollodorus.* Besides an infin. (γεγράφθαι), there seems to have been lost the mention of some other persons besides Agoratus, whom the speaker believes to have obtained recognition and record on the part of the assembly as public benefactors; ἵνα is adv. of place; note the force of πέρ. — τῷ ῥήτορι: it was the orators who took the active part in the proceedings of the assembly, hence resolutions of this sort would be offered and urged by them; *but by giving money to the orator they get their own names inscribed*, etc. It is remarkable that within a few years, more than twenty-two centuries after the trial, the speaker's words have found partial corroboration in the marble archives of the ancient city. Out of the ruins of the Acropolis were dug up, in 1845, some fragments recording, it would seem, the decree proposed by Diocles, conferring the gift of citizenship upon a certain Thrasybulus of Calydon and others, — the very document, doubtless, which Lysias causes to be read in evidence on this trial. The orator speaks of this record as also containing the names of those who had rendered services and were, therefore, acknowledged as benefactors (εὐεργέται), though not rewarded with citizenship. It is found that these fragments include among the latter the name of Agoratus (ΚΑΙΑΓΟΡΑΤΟ), with the final sigma missing.

73. οὕτω: emphatic position; *now so much does he despise.* — γραφὰς... ἐγράφετο, *brought all manner of indictments;* a colloquial use of the phrase ἐξ ἀνθ. Cf. Plato, *Theæt.* 170: τὰ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων πράγματα παρέχουσί μοι, *they make me no end of trouble;* ἐδίκαζε and ἐξεκλησ. refer to the two prominent civic duties of an Athenian, as juror and assembly-man. — ἐπιγραφ....εἶναι, *having himself entered as an Anargyrasian;* i. e. in the making out of the said indictments. Anargyrus was a deme of the tribe Erechtheis. — δι' ὅ, *by reason of which.* Following most edd., I have omitted ἄν before ἀπέκτεινε. — γάρ (omit in translation) introduces this argument (τεκμήριον), extending through § 76. — οἱ πολλοί, *the majority;* possibly exaggerated (see Thucydides, VIII. 98), yet the larger number may have temporarily withdrawn to Decelea and elsewhere on the downfall of their administration. It seems, too, that τῶν τετρακοσίων, here and below, is loosely applied so as to include the Four Hundred and their active adherents. Otherwise it would hardly be said that they afterwards composed the whole body of the Thirty, besides the Senate convened under them. It is to be said, however, that of the whole argument this portion, §§ 73–76, will least bear inspection. The argument implies a wholesale and violent expulsion of the oligarchs, such as did not by any means take place. Nor was the death of Phrynichus in any such degree the cause of the overthrow of their government, that it should have been a main point with the party to avenge his death, when another revolution restored them

to power in the city. The Thirty, especially, were less likely to be the avengers of Phrynichus, since Critias, their leading spirit, had been his active opponent. Intent on constructing an effective dilemma, the orator misrepresents the situation, without making statements directly false. What is said in § 76 is more to the point.

74. **ἡ...βουλεύουσα,** *which was in session under the administration of the Thirty.* — **ἀφεῖναι ἂν...τὸν...ἀποκτείναντα,** *after getting possession of the slayer of P., would have released him;* **ἄν** also belongs with the foll. infin. — **τῆς φυγῆς...ἔφυγον,** *the banishment which they had themselves suffered;* as to the rel., see H. 808; G. 153.

75, 76. **μὴ ἀποκτείναι,** *without having slain him;* supply **ἀποκτεῖναι** with **προσπ.**; **ἀδικεῖ,** *is guilty;* namely, of illegal assumption of the rights of citizenship. — **φῄς,** *assert, insist.* — **μείζω...κακὰ ποιήσας,** *by having done greater evil.* — **τὴν...ἀπελύσω,** *you purged yourself to the Thirty of the charge concerning Phrynichus;* lit. *the charge* (brought) *in behalf of Phrynichus.* — **τουτων μέμνησθε,** *remember this* (H. 518, b), ref. to the infin. — **ἐὰν δ' οὐ φάσκῃ,** *but if he deny it;* H. 842; see note, § 62. — **δι' ὅ τι,** *on what account;* to be taken with **ποιηθῆναι**; not, *why he says.* — **τοὔνομα,** *his name.*

77. **ἀπολογεῖσθαι,** *to allege in defence,* is frequently followed by an obj. cl., cf. § 89; to have been with the men of Phyle became no slight glory in the times succeeding the Restoration. The modern poet repeats their fame: —

> "Spirit of freedom! When on Phyle's brow
> Thou satst with Thrasybulus and his train."
>
> *Childe Harold*, Canto II. Stanza 74.

— **ἀγώνισμα,** *strongest plea;* the telling stroke in his defence. — **καίτοι... ὅστις,** *and yet how could there be a greater wretch, — one who,* etc. Strictly, I suppose the antec. of **ὅστις** to be an indef. **τινὰ** after the compar. A diff. explan. in Frohb.

78. **ἐπειδὴ...τάχιστα,** *as soon as,* Lat. *quum primum;* seldom thus separated. Frohb. places the comma before **τάχιστα,** and doubtless that punctuation would express the construction as it was in the earlier stages of the language, the adverb at first being intended simply to qualify the principal verb. — **συλλαβ....ἄντικρυς,** *they seize and straightway lead.* — **οὗπερ καί,** (to) *the very spot where.* — **εἰ...συλλαβ.**: H. 749, a; G. 220, II., b. — **Ἄνυτος**: this is the Anytus who afterwards doomed himself to an inglorious immortality by becoming prosecutor of Socrates. — **οὐκ ἔφη χρῆναι,** *said that they must not.* The context will allow us to render **χρῆναι** by *must;* its subj. is **αὐτοὺς ποιεῖν.** — **λέγων**: foll. by the forms of ind. disc.; **διακ.** and **τιμωρήσοιντο** take the place of the indic.; for **εἰ...κατέλθοιεν** the direct form would be **ἐὰν...κατέλθωμεν**; H. 736; G. 247.

79. στραT....ἀνδρός: H. 500, a. — ἀλλ' ἕτερον, *but again*, i. e. another point introd. by the foll. γάρ: *no one will be found either to have messed with him.* — ταξίαρχος: the ten taxiarchs commanded the ten τάξεις or divisions of the Athenian infantry, corresponding to the ten tribes or phylæ. Each taxiarch held the muster-roll of his tribe. Agoratus was not enrolled or assigned to duty in any division; εἰς τὴν φ.: the same as εἰς τὴν τάξιν, § 82. — ὥσπερ ἀλιτηρίῳ, *just as if he were accursed.* — τὸν ταξ., i. e. of the tribe of Erechtheis, in which Agoratus claimed citizenship.

80, 81. πομπήν: "On the 12th of Boëdromion, 403 (Sept. 21st), the associates of Thrasybulus celebrated the day of their return to Athens; the well-won day of honor on which they reaped the reward of their bravery and patriotism. They halted before the great entrance-gate, the Dipyplum. Here Thrasybulus came forward for the last time in his character of general; he held a muster, and availed himself of it to eject as impure from the ranks such as were unanimously held unworthy to enter the city in the ranks of the liberating army, — in particular Agoratus, who, as will be remembered, had served as aider and abettor in the most shameful intrigues. Thereupon the men disposed themselves as a festive procession, which was conducted by a certain Æsinus." Curtius (IV. p. 61), following Lysias. Thereafter it was regularly observed by the Athenians as an annual festival, — the Thanksgiving-day of Freedom (Χαριστήρια ἐλευθερίας). — οὕτω...καί: see note on XII. 19. — λαβὼν τὰ ὅπλα, *in hoplite armor.* ἔθεντο τὰ ὅπλα, *halted*, i. e. in order to close up the ranks, and enter the city in marching order. — προσελθών: not co-ordinate with λαβών; hence with no connective; it is temporal before the following predicates, while λαβών is closely joined with ἔρριψε, *seized and flung down*; τέ is correl. with the foll. καί. — ἀπ....ἐς κόρακας, *cursed him; bade him go and be hanged*, lit. *go to the crows;* this not infrequent imprecation being sufficiently explained when we consider the dread felt by the Greeks of being left unburied.

82. τούτῳ...διέκειτο: freely, *this was the relation in which he stood to the citizens*, etc. — ὑπολαμβ., *to retort* (with the question). — τοῦ...μὴ ἀποθανεῖν, *of his not being put to death;* after αἴτιος; as to τέ, see note on § 1. — εἰ Ἄνυτος...ἐγένετο, *whether A. was not*, etc.; in Eng., diff. from Greek, we insert *not* in a question of doubt with *whether*, if we mean to imply the probability of the affirmative. Socrates illustrates the uncertainty of human expectations by saying, that he who marries a lovely woman, hoping to be happy with her, does not know *whether he shall not be tormented by her* (εἰ διὰ ταύτην ἀνιάσεται). Xenophon, *Memorab.* I. 1. 8. — ὄντων: H. 791, a. — καὶ οὐκ εἴα, *and did not refuse to permit;* εἰς τάξιν...κατέταξε: cf. § 79.

83, 84. ταῦτα: i. e. these pleas in his defence, especially his part in the death of Phrynichus, and in the expedition from Phyle; after the foll. μήτε, ἀποδ. has as an object a pronoun referring to the clause ὅτι...τιμωρούμεθα.

— **προθεσμίαν**: limit of time fixed by law within which an indictment for a given offence must be brought; render freely: *that there is any statute of limitations applying to such offences.* — **χρόνῳ**, *after a time;* **τιμωρεῖται**, *is brought to punishment.* — **τοῦτον**: ref. to **τὶς**; H. 680. — **ποιοῦντας**, *because they were doing;* agr. with the obj. of **ἀπέκτεινε** understood before **δικαίως**. — **πάλαι δέον τιμωρεῖσθαι**, *when we ought to have inflicted punishment long ago;* H. 792, a; G. 278, 2. — **προσῆκον**: sc. **ζῆν**; accus. abs. denoting time. Agoratus has been the only gainer, — having lived longer than his due, — the slain were as dead as ever. This is sarcastic enough, but hardly touches the point of law, and would alone lead us to suspect that there was something in the claim of the defendant.

85. **διισχυρίζεσθαι**, *relies upon;* perhaps, *lays stress upon;* namely, upon the fact **ὅτι...ἐπιγ.** — **ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ**, *in flagranti delicto,* subj. of **ἐπιγ.**; **ἀπαγωγῇ**: applied to the writ as well as to the process. — **πάντων...εὐηθ.**, *silliest of all.* — **ὡς...ἔνοχος ὤν**, *as if he would be subject to the process of apagogê;* the part. introd. by **ὡς** (H. 795, e; G. 277, N. 2) is put in the nom. by anacoluthon, as if **διισχ.** were in the indic. — **ῥᾳστώνην τινά**, *some relief,* that is, by rendering the whole process illegal. — **δὲ...οἴεται**, *and* (as if) *he thought;* **δέ** connects **οἴεται** (by anacoluthon) with **ὤν**. — **τοῦτο δὲ... ὁμολογεῖν**, *but this is just like admitting.* — **ὥσπερ...σώζεσθαι**, *just as if he ought to be spared, provided that, though not indeed taken in the very act, he nevertheless killed him.* The speaker fallaciously shifts his ground from the legal point in question to the actual guilt of the defendant.

86. A passage (§§ 86, 87) "corrupt and unintelligible," as it stands in the MSS. Scheibe, the editor of the present text, gives the original of § 86 with little change, simply supplying **οὐκ** before **οἰομένοι**. I have placed the comma before **Διονύσιον**. The general drift of the argument is clear. — **οἱ ἕνδεκα**: this board had preliminary jurisdiction in cases of apagogê; see *Dict. Ant.*, "Apagogê." — **καὶ διισχ., κ. τ. λ.**, *and being very confident that they acted rightly.* — **τὴν ἀπ. ἀπάγειν**, *to bring the accusation of apagogê,* technically said of the complainant; in the law phrase, notice the cogn. accus. — **ἐπ' αὐτοφ., ἢ ὅπου ἂν ᾖ**: these words are quoted from the writ, it would seem; grammatically the obj. of **προσγ.**, which depends on **ἀναγκ.**, above. — **ἐναντίον πεντ.**: to be taken with **ἀπογράψας**. — **ἀποκτείνειε**, *that he had slain;* opt. of ind. disc., suggesting the reason in the minds of the Eleven. But all explanations of the syntax of this section must be as conjectural as the text.

87. **οἴεται**: i. e. Agoratus; the second person would correspond with the latter clause. The condit. cl. is in appos. with **τοῦτο**: *that this alone is* IN FLAGRANTI, *if,* etc. — **ἐπεὶ...λόγου**, *since by your argument at least;* to Agoratus. — **οὔτ' ἀπέσφαξεν**, *or cut their throats.* Your denunciation was the murderous blow, that compelled them to take the fatal cup of hemlock.

-- **οὗτος...ἐστί**, *is not he* (emphatic) *in flagranti?* The phrase is here used adjectively in the pred.; as if: Is not he a murderer taken in the very act? Below the phrase is used adverbially. — **ἢ σὺ ἀπογράψας**, *than you by having informed against them.* — **ἐπ' αὐτ....ὁ ἀποκτείνας**, *their murderer* IN FLAGRANTI. A persistent ignoring of the clear distinction between the manner of the criminal's detection and the manner of the crime.

88. ὅρκων καὶ συνθηκῶν, *oaths and compacts;* the current phrase applied to the articles of agreement and amnesty, with which a reconciliation of the civil discord was concluded; it is also applied to other treaties. — **παρὰ... ἀγωνίζεται**, *is being tried contrary to, in violation of.* — **οἱ ἐν τῷ Π.**, *we of the Piræus;* **οἱ ἐν Π.** (without the article) is the usual phrase. — **σχεδόν**: with **ὁμολογεῖ**. — **ἐμποδὼν...ποιεῖται**, *interposes;* **ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ τι**: contemptuous indefiniteness. — **καλῶς ἀγωνιεῖσθαι**, *that he will come out of the trial successfully.*

89, 90. περὶ τούτων ἀποδέχεσθαι, *to accept his defence on these points;* the direct obj. omitted. — **κελεύετε**: imperat. — **οὐδὲν προσήκειν ἡμῖν**, *in no wise pertains to us, are in no wise binding upon us.* — **εἶχον...αὐτῷ**, *would have some reference to him.* — **ἦν**: agreeing with the nearest subject; H. 511, h; G. 135, N. 1. — **ἤ**, after **οὐδένα**, = **εἰ μή**, *except.* This is, doubtless, too limited an interpretation of the amnesty. It must have been meant to cover all prosecutions of this character. On one pretext and another, however, in spite of its guaranties, the demand for vengeance was sometimes complied with.

91. ὅστις, κ. τ. λ., *any one who declares that he has been adopted by the people;* to be read thus, if with Reiske we fill the lacuna with **πεποιῆσθαι**, perf. pass. of the mid. **ποιεῖσθαι**, *to adopt* as one's child. — **φαίνεται κακώσας**, *is found to have maltreated;* **κάκωσις γονέων**, *maltreatment of parents*, was an indictable offence; it might be by blows or words, or by refusing them the means of subsistence. — **ἐξ ὧν...ἐγίγνετο**, (those) *by whom it was becoming*, etc.; i. e. the Athenian people, his foster-father. — **ὅστις οὖν... ἔτυπτε**, *one, therefore, who was wont to strike his own father;* his father by nature (**γόνῳ**), as distinguished from his father by adoption (**ὁ δῆμος**), just spoken of. This hint of brutal treatment by Agoratus of his slave father is left unverified and unexplained. — **ἃ...ἀγαθά**, *goods which belonged to him.* — **πῶς οὐ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο**, *is he not on this account also;* his depriving the state of its best citizens is viewed as robbery of a parent.

92, 93. Cf. the opening of the oration. — **ἀποθνήσκοντες**: temporal. To you as well as us, his relatives, were made the last requests of the deceased. — **ἔμβραχυ**: used in indef. rel. clauses somewhat as *ever;* we may render: *as far as ever each one can.* — **πεποιηκότες**: H. 797; G. 279, 1. — **ἐκεῖνοι**, *they*, i. e. the deceased. — **ἃ**, *as;* lit. which things. — **ἀνεῖναι**, *to release;* occasionally used as a syn. for **ἀφεῖναι**. Cf. **ἀπολύοντες** in § 94. —

νυνὶ δή, *now, at last; now* is repeated below. — **οὐ...διαπράττεσθε**, *you are not only effecting this*, i. e. his acquittal; notice the livelier present for the future, which would properly correspond to the protasis; H. 699, a.

94, 95. **ἀπολύοντες**, *in acquitting.* — **οὐδὲν...ἤ**, *you are simply determining, you are coming to no other conclusion than; γιγνώσκω* is very frequent in Attic prose in the sense *to judge, to conclude.* — **ἂν...πάθοιεν**, *would suffer;* stated, as if the fate of the deceased still after all hung uncertain in the scale. — **ὁμόψηφοι...γενήσονται**, *shall cast the same vote.* — **μηδαμῶς**, κ. τ. λ.: a slowly spoken, impressive sentence. Notice the accumulation of long vowels; also the negatives. — **μήτε...μηδεμίᾳ**, *either by any art or contrivance, in any way or manner;* in earnest deprecation. Cf. *οὔτε τέχνῃ οὔτε μηχανῇ οὐδεμιᾷ*, in the oath quoted by Demosthenes, XXIV. 150.

96, 97. **ἐναντία...ψηφ.**: below it is *τὰ ἐναντία.* They are used thus interchangeably in XII. 42 and 43. — **τοίνυν**: marking another step in the argument, *well then*, or *now.* — **ὧν...ἀποψ.**: i. e. to declare your belief in their innocence by reversing, as far as possible, the verdict of the Thirty. — **οὐχ ὁμ. γίγνεσθε**: i. e. you free yourselves from complicity in their verdict. — **αὐτῶν**: H. 675, b; G. 137, N. 1.

NOTES ON ORATION VII.

The title is: "A Defence before the Areopagus concerning the Sacred Olive-Tree." ΑΡΕΟΠ.: adj. masc.; sc. λόγος. ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ: in appos. with λόγος understood. ΣΗΚΟΥ: *σηκός* originally signified *a pen* or *enclosure;* next, a sacred enclosure or sanctuary, often, for instance, an olive-yard, or vineyard; finally it came to be applied, in a still more specific sense, to the old trunk or stump of a sacred olive. This last signification, it will be observed, is distinctively Athenian, as is the use of the word *μορία*. See L. & S., on *ἐλαία* (the true Attic form was *ἐλάα*) and *μορία*. Ἐλαιών, *an olive-yard* (cf. H. 463, c), is the Greek name for the Mt. of Olives, near Jerusalem.

1. βουλή: the court of the Areopagus was addressed by the same title as the Senate of Five Hundred. — **ἄγοντι**: H. 789, e; G. 277, 4. — **πράγματα**: often a difficult word to translate; in XII. 3, it refers to *litigation;* here, more general, *difficulties*. — **συκοφάνταις**: H. 605; G. 187; see also note on XXII. 1. — **εἴ πως**: the clause to be completed from what follows, i. e. *τοὺς ... ἔσεσθαι*. — **δεῖν ... δεδ.**, *that even unborn children must now be afraid;* humorously hitting off the Athenian **φιλονεικία**, that had become in Lysias's time so serious an evil; on *μή*, see H. 839, 840; G. 283, 4. — **κοινοί**: pred. adj. foll. by dat.; *the perils are becoming common*, i. e. like perils befall the innocent and guilty.

2. ὥστε: following *οὕτω*, as here, it should properly introduce a cl. of manner; but the speaker omits that, and proceeds in this cl. to explain the *cause* of his embarrassment. Render: *and the trial is made embarrassing to me in this respect, namely, that at first*, etc. The sent. fully expressed would read: *the trial is made so embarrassing to me, that* (I am required to meet a changed indictment; for) *at first*, etc. — **δὲ ... νυνὶ ... ἀφανίζειν**, *now, on the contrary, they assert that it was an olive-stump I removed;* the time denoted by *ἀφαν.* in both cl. is to be understood from the context; cf. *Gr. Moods*, 15, 1; **προσῆσαν**: i. e. those who conducted the prosecution, — seeking from those who had formerly been contractors for the annual product evidence that there had formerly been a fruit-bearing olive-tree on this estate of the defendant; **οὐδέν**: cogn. acc. after *ἀδικ.*; **ἀπελέγξαι**: H. 767; G. 261, 2.

3. **περὶ ὧν**: after **ἀκούσαντα**; the prep. governs the implied antec., and the rel. is put in the gen. by attr. instead of the accus. after **ἐπιβ**. We may render freely: *though I have just heard of what he has contrived against me and brings into court*, at the same time as you who are to judge concerning the case; lit. *of those things which having contrived against* (me) *he has come*, referring to the change of accusation after the appearance of the parties in court. After **ἀκούσαντα** I have added a comma to the text. Baur takes **περὶ ὧν** as ref. to **πατρίδος** and **οὐσίας**. Both text and rendering are uncertain.

4. **Πεισάνδρου**: H. 572, c; G. 169. This is the Pisander who was prominent in the revolution of 411. See Grote, VIII. p. 13 *seq.*; on the confiscation here mentioned, see p. 88, *ibid.* — **ὄντων**: **τὰ ὄντα** is sometimes syn. with **ἡ οὐσία**; H. 786, a. Apollodorus was one of the two who claimed to have slain Phrynichus, and this gift seems to have been part of his reward. Cf. XIII. 71. — **ἐωνούμην**: the aor. **ἐωνησάμην** not being used in Attic, the imperf. appears to be sometimes used with an aor. meaning instead of **ἐπριάμην**. — **εἰρήνης**: i. e. the peace after the Restoration by Thrasybulus, in the spring of 403.

5. **ἡγοῦμαι...ἀποδ.**, *I consider it therefore my task to show.* — **τοῦ... χρόνου**, *for the previous period*; gen. after **ζημιοῦσθαι**, acc. to the principle stated in H. 577, b; G. 177, 3. It should be observed, however, that the grammars give no similar instance of the gen. with this verb. The meaning is: that he should not suffer the penalty for trespasses committed during the period before he came into possession of the property. — **δι' ἡμᾶς**: see note XII. 58; **οὐδὲν...κινδ.**, *we ought by no means to be indicted as criminals for the offences of others.* The conclusion of an abridged syllogism, but stated in such a form as to suggest the requisite major premise. The reasoning is: No one ought to be held guilty of crime committed by another; if, therefore, the offence charged was not committed by us (and it was not), we ought not to be held guilty.

6-8. **τὰ μὲν πόρρω**, *the remote districts*; **τῶν φίλων**, *our friends.* After the occupation of Decelea, in 413, the Athenians themselves took care to leave in the outlying fields and farms near the city as little as possible that could afford plunder to the foraging parties of the Spartans. The use of the word **φίλων** seems to refer to the foraging parties from the Piræus after the civil war began, though that period does not properly belong to the **προτέρου χρόνου** required by the argument. — **ἄλλως τε καί**, *especially since*; **ὅτι** or **ἐπεί** is to be supplied. — **ἄπρακτον**, *uncultivated.* — **οὐ θαυμαστὸν δέ**, *and no wonder.* — **ἐν ᾧ**, *when*, as in XIII. 36; H. 813, a; **αὐτῶν**: H. 675, b; G. 137, N. 1. — **ὅσοι**: ref. to the **ἐπιμέληται**, see Introd. — **πολλὰ...ὄντα**, *that there were many*; **χωρία** understood; as to the part., see H. 799, 3; G. 280. — **ὧν...τὰ πολλά**, *the great part of which*; it seems necessary to

consider **ὧν** fem., though the constr. is unusual. — **καὶ...κεκτημένων**, *even when the same persons have been in possession*, etc. See remark on *τέθηκε*. § 10. — **τῇ εἰρήνῃ**: cf. § 4.

9, 10. ἀλλὰ γάρ: here used, as frequently, to break off the previous discourse, and introduce a new topic or division of the argument. The preceding context shows the thought to be: *But* I will proceed with the main argument (cf. § 5), *for*. — **γενέσθαι**: H. 769; G. 274. — **ἐπὶ...ἄρχ.**: *in the archonship of Pythodorus;* i. e. the year 404–3 B. C. His magistracy was, however, deemed illegal; whence the name, the Year of Anarchy. — **ἐνιαυτόν**: accus. of duration; the obj. of *εἰργ.* is understood. — **τέθνηκε**, *has been dead;* ordinarily it signifies, *he is dead* (H. 712; G. 200, N. 6); but the Eng. expressions are rendered into Greek by the one form. On the freedmen in Athens, see Becker's *Charicles*, p. 372.

11. αὐτὸς γεωργῶ, *I have been cultivating it myself;* G. 200, N. 4; see also *Gr. Moods*, 10, N. 3, and H. 698. The time ref. to (*ὁ χρόνος οὗτος*) is that of the lease of Proteas; concerning which, no doubt, exact information was given in the testimony. — **φησὶ...ἐκκεκόφθαι**, *declares it to have been cut up from the roots;* the mention of Suniades, as archon, fixes the date as 397–6 B. C., about seven years after the purchase of the property. — **μεμισθωμένοι**: mid., see *ἐμισθώσατο*, above; the neg. with **εἶναι** is **μή**, an exception to the rule for ind. disc. Cf. H. 837, b; G. 283, 3. — **τὸν... ἐργαζ.**: subj. of the infin. — **ἃ...ἦν**, *those things which before were not;* H. 835, fine print; G. 283, 2.

12. ἐν...χρόνῳ, *hitherto;* **τοίνυν**, *moreover;* its metabatic force, marking the transition to a new topic. The argument from circumstantial evidence begins at this point. — **ἠγανάκτουν ἂν, ὅσοι...φάσκοιεν**, *I was wont to be indignant at any who said;* H. 704 and 757; G. 206 and 233. — **δεινόν**, *shrewd, sharp;* characterizing a man who has too keen an eye to his own interest. With an apparent good-humored simplicity, he hints at what his neighbors think of him, and proceeds to turn it to account in the argument. — **ὡς μοι προσῆκε**, *as was suitable to me;* i. e. I preferred that what was said of me should be in accordance with my real character. — **σκοπεῖν**, *that I kept in view;* **ἐπεχ.**: H. 745; G. 221. — **τῷ ποιήσαντι**, *to the perpetrator*, lit. *to him who did it;* simply repeating the meaning of *ἀφαν.*, as we use the verb *do* in Eng.; **ἐγένετο**: a gnomic aor. Scheibe, Frohb., and Rauch. have *ἐγίνετο*, but there seems to be no valid objection to the reading of the MSS. — **καὶ...διεπραξ.**, *and so what I should gain, if I escaped detection;* another ex. of *καί* = *and so*, used to introduce a statement repeated in another form, may be found in Demosth., *Olynth.*, II. 24.

13, 14. ἐκ τούτων, *from this point of view, in accordance with this*, i. e. the fact mentioned before; it is further explained by *ἀποφ.*, *by showing*. In § 14 he shows that he could have been actuated by no one of the supposed

motives. — **διαφθείρεται...ὄντος**, *was receiving injury by the olive-stump being there;* **σηκοῦ**: gen. abs.; **κινδύνων**: H. 584, c; G. 180, 1. — **ἂν... γενομένας**, *would have resulted;* **ἄν** belongs also with the opt.; the condit. cl. dep. on **γενομένας**; the part. takes the place of the hypoth. indic.; H. 803, b; G. 211. In place of the incomplete sentence in Scheibe, I have adopted Frohb.'s emendation.

15, **ὃς...μεθ' ἡμέραν**, *who in the daytime;* a rel. cl. with causal force; as if saying, especially should I have exposed myself to punishment; for, if the accusation is to be believed, I proceeded in the daytime to dig up, etc. — **ὥσπερ...δέον**, *as if it were not needful for me to avoid the notice of all, rather than that all the Athenians should know it;* H. 792, a; G. 278, 2; **εἰδέναι**: sc. **δέον**. — **ἂν...ἠμέλησε**, *would have been indifferent to;* speaking, as if he assumed the truth of the statement made in the indictment; so also with **νῦν δὲ.. ἐκινδύνευον**, *but as it is I was making myself liable.* It exposed the offender, if convicted, to banishment and the confiscation of his entire property.

16. **πῶς...ἦν**, *but should I not be;* see note on XII. 84. — **εἰ...ἐξημάρτανον**, *if they committed even the greatest offences;* note the imperf.: now, or at any time; on **εἰ καί**, cf. H. 874, 1. — **καὶ...γενέσθαι**, *and to become free by informing* (against me); **αὐτοῖς** and **ἐλευθ.** both agree in form with **ἐκείνοις**, but in sense with the subj. of the inf., the latter as pred. adj.

17. **ἔτι τοίνυν**, *furthermore;* **εἰ...παρίστη μοι**, *if it had been in my mind.* — **συναδότων**: also gen. abs.; *and all being aware*, i. e. of the existence of this olive-tree. — **προθεσμίας**: see *Dict. Ant.*, "Prothesmia." An action brought for injury to the sacred olives is known to have been one of those to which there was no statute of limitation; **τοῖς εἰργ.** is dat. after **προσῆκον**, an accus. abs. — **ἵνα...εἶχον**: H. 742; G. 216, 3. The thought in this sentence is closely condensed; we might render freely: How should I have dared.....considering on the one hand that the gain was but slight; and on the other, that, on account of there being no statutory limitation to the liability for such offences, it was for the interest of all alike who had cultivated the ground that the olive-stock be preserved, in order that they might be able.....to shift the charge upon him to whom they had delivered the estate.

18, 19. **τοίνυν**, *moreover;* marking an advance in the argument. Here, as in § 37, the context might seem to require an adversative sense, *however;* but it is doubtful whether it is ever used in this sense, at least by the Attic orators; **καὶ...παρεσκ.**, *I had provided against this;* if I had arranged matters with the previous lessees, so that they would not testify against me. — **ἀλλήλων**: H. 570; Kühn. 273, Rem. 20. — **ἀλλὰ...εἰδέναι**, *but also what we conceal, and think no one to be aware of;* **ἐκείνων** is gram. antec. of **ὧν**. The MSS. have **ἀποκρυπτόμεθα μηδένα εἶναι**, for which Scheibe and Rauch.

have adopted the reading in the text. Perhaps it were as well to allow the original text to remain, though I know of no parallel use of *ἀποκρύπτομαι*. — **τοίνυν...οἱ μέν,** *now some of these*, i. e. neighbors; **φίλοι** and **διάφ.** are pred. adj. — **ἐχρὴν τοῦτον παρασχέσθαι, καὶ μὴ...ποιεῖσθαι,** *he ought to have produced, and not merely to be making;* with the latter inf. *ἐχρῆν* is used acc. to H. 703. — **ὃς φησιν,** *for he says;* cf. § 15. — **ᾤχετο ἀπάγων,** *drove off with;* **βοηλάτης**: oxen were used in Greece for drawing loads, as well as for ploughing.

20, 21. μάρτυρας, *as witnesses;* **χρὴν**: augm. omitted. — **αὐτὸς δὲ τετιμωρ.,** *and you would have avenged* YOURSELF, etc.; *αὐτός* is to emphasize the implied reflexive; H. 674. — **εἰ μέν,...εἰ δέ,...εἰ δέ**: instancing the three supposable motives for the prosecution: desire for revenge, for the public weal, and for gain; H. 746; G. 222; render **ἔπραττες** by the progressive pluperf., *if you had been doing.* — **πεῖσαι**: said persuasion to be effected, of course, by pecuniary means. — **τούτων τοίνυν**: the particle, as in § 18, has its looser inferential force: *now, without having done any of these things;* **δυνάμεως,** *influence.*

22. φήσας, *having stated;* i. e. if he had made a statement before the archons of what he had seen, and immediately brought them to the spot; not necessarily the nine archons in a body, but particularly the King Archon, whose jurisdiction extended to crimes of impiety and sacrilege. — **ἢ ἄλλους,** *or else;* this gives the force that **ἄλλος** often has, a signif. grammatically explained by considering it as used substantively, and having the foll. noun in appos. See H. 538, e, and cf. the similar use in § 25 and § 32, and the notes thereon. It is, therefore, not implied here that the archons were members of the Areopagus, though they became members of it on retiring from office. — **διαγιγνώσκειν**: cf. *διαγνωσομένοις*, § 3; **οὕτω,** *in that case.*

23. ὃς...ἂν ἠξίου, *for he would demand;* equiv. to a causal cl.; cf. § 23. — **καὶ...ζημίαν**: subj. of *γενέσθαι*. — **τούτου**: i. e. Nicomachus; Reiske, Baur, and West. take it as neut., but see the contrast between *τούτου μέν* and *ὑμᾶς δέ*. — **συκοφαντῶν ἅμα**: H. 795, c; G. 277, N. 1. — **οὐ...ἀπορήσει,** *he will not be unprovided with.* In lieu of arguments and witnesses, he wishes you to accept it as positive proof of my guilt that witnesses cannot be induced to testify against me; "and witnesses" is added ironically; the only witness he brings is that he has no witnesses.

24. τῷ πεδίῳ, *the Plain;* the Athenian Plain, in the southern part of which lay the city. See *Dict. Geog.*, Vol. I. p. 332. The estate in question, being in the deme of Acharnæ, was also in the Plain. — **πυρκαϊάς**: a word not elsewhere found in the sense required here; it is generally taken to mean *trees of the wild after-growth*, i. e. the offshoots from a stock which had been burned away. The tenacious life of olive-trees is well known; unless the roots are destroyed, they will send out a vigorous second growth.

— **ἐπεργάσασθαι**, *to encroach upon;* a technical term descriptive of tilling the soil closer to the trees than was allowed; see *ἐργαζ.* in § 25. — **ἔμελλε**, *was about to be, was likely to be;* **πολλῶν**: gen. abs.

25. οὕτως...ὥσπερ καί, *I value them just as highly as;* on the verb, cf. note to XII. 7. — **τὴν ἄλ. οὐσίαν**, *my property besides;* cf. § 22; **ἀμφοτ. τούτων**: should those trees be missing, he was liable to lose both country and possessions. — **ἐπιμελομένους**, *who take the oversight of them.* A commission, composed of members of the Areopagus, held sessions monthly; all matters pertaining to the preservation and control of this portion of the religious property of the state then came under their notice; **γνώμονας**, *inspectors.* — **ἔζημίωσεν**: sc. *μέ.*

26, 27. περὶ...ποιοῦμαι, περὶ...ἡγοῦμαι: see XII. 7, for the phrases used together. As to the penalty for the respective offences, see Introd. On **οὐ**, as denying both members of the antithesis, cf. notes on XII. 47 and 80. — **οὕτω...φαίνομαι**, *is it manifest that I take such care of;* **ἢ ἐμὲ μᾶλλον**: cf. § 2; **λαθεῖν ἐξ.**: H. 801; G. 279, 2. — **ὡς...διαβεβλημένος**, *as one who had influence at that time* (i. e. under the Thirty), *or as now in ill-repute,* lit. *talked against;* **ἀλλ' ὡς**, *but* (I simply say) *that;* λέγω transitive is to be supplied. For years afterwards, it is evident, the adherents of the Thirty were still exposed to public odium. The last clause indicates strikingly how truly the government of the Thirty was a misgovernment, a no-government; under it wrong-doing was made easier.

28, 29. πῶς δ' ἂν...ἐπεχ., *how should I have ventured?* — **ὑμῶν**: gen. abs., denoting time: *while you were,* etc.; **τούτου** agr. with **χωρίου**: H. 885. — **οὐδὲ ἕν**, *not even one, not a single.* — **εἶναι**, *that there was;* inf. used in ind. disc. to represent the imperf.; *Gr. Moods,* 15, 3. In the absence of witnesses to the contrary, this argument (one in the series of *a priori* arguments adduced) becomes a strong one. — **μήθ'...καταστῆσαι**, *never fined me as a trespasser upon the ground, nor brought me to trial for removing a tree;* cf. § 24. — **ἐπιμελητής**, *curator.* — **ἡλικίαν...εἰδέναι**, *old enough to know;* Nicomachus, as it thus appears, being a young man.

30, 31. τῶν ἔργων, *than the facts.* — **λεγόντων**: used with **ἐχθρῶν** as a suppl. or obj. to **ἀνασχέσθαι**; H. 800; G. 279, 1; **ταῦτα**: obj. of **λεγόντων**. The thought is: do not allow yourselves to be informed by my enemies of what you are already fully informed of, i. e. through your **ἐπιμεληταί** and **γνώμονες**. — **ἐνθυμουμένους**, *forming your judgment;* **πολιτείας**, *my life as a citizen.* — **ὡς...ἠναγκ.**, *than I was compelled to do;* Taylor and others have emended by inserting **ἤ**, *than,* before **ὡς**. It must be admitted that there is no undoubted instance of **ὡς** alone having this meaning, though we have frequently a corresponding use of **οἷος** and **ὅσος**. — **τριηραρχῶν**: cf. *Dict. Ant.,* "Trierarchia"; **τἆλλα λειτ.**, *defraying the other public charges;* for an account of them, see "Leitourgia," *ibid.*

32, 33. **ἀλλὰ μή**, *instead of.* — **οὐτ' ἂν...ἠγωνιζόμην**, *I should not be in danger of banishment, or of the loss of my property either;* on **ἄλλην**, cf. § 22. — **οὐδὲν ἀδικ....οὐδέ**, *without being guilty of any crime, and without;* H. 788, a, at the end; G. 277, 6; cf. note on XXII. 1. — **πράξας**, *by engaging in*, or, *when I had engaged in;* **ἐκέρδαινον**, *I was gaining.* In various parts of this argument, it will be observed, the defendant assumes the point of view of the accuser, — admits the accusation in order to show its absurdity. This accounts for the mood or tense of a number of verbs, which the reader might easily be led to mistranslate; e. g. § 12, **σκοπεῖν, ἐπεχείρουν**; § 15, **ἐξέκοπτον, γενομένας**; and others. — **τοῖς μεγ.,...τῶν μεγ.**: the generic art.; H. 529; omit in transl. In weighty concerns the proof should be weighty. — **πιστότερα**, *more worthy of belief*, agr. with antec. of **ὧν**.

34. **ἐκ...σκέψασθε**, *judge from the other facts*, i. e. from other considerations still to be adduced. — **ὅτι...θεράπ.**, *that I had all the servants*, i. e. that I still had them with me. — **εἴ τινα βούλ.**, *whichever one he wished;* namely, of the slaves; H. 738, and 737, 2; G. 247, N. 1. — **ἡγούμενος** gives the reason of his procedure. A great deal of barbarism and cruelty underlay the intellectual culture of even the Greeks and Romans. The orator Lycurgus (*Against Leocrates*, § 29) speaks as if it were too well understood to need argument, that justice and the public welfare were alike subserved by torturing the slaves of an estate or household, both men and women, in order to elicit evidence concerning the master. In the present instance, the master offers them for torture in his own defence. The worthlessness, as well as the detestable cruelty, of this method of ascertaining the truth, seems slowly to have reached men's minds, — how slowly, the criminal codes and procedure of mediæval and even of modern Europe can show.

35, 36. **πιστόν**: agr. with **οὐδέν**, and foll. by dat., the same as its cogn. verb; H. 595, c; G. 185; freely, *that there was no trusting servants.* — **πεφύκασι**, *are in the nature of things;* the danger, if not the wrong, of slavery was appreciated by the ancients. With the enormous slave population of Attica, the masters lived in constant dread of slave rebellions. — **καὶ μὲν δή**: see note on XII. 30; **ἐμαυτῷ ξυνειδέναι**, *to be conscious of guilt.* — **ἐμοῦ παραδιδ.**, *when I was offering to deliver them over;* **δίδωμι** in the pres. and imperf. often = *to be ready to give, to offer.* — **τὴν αὑτ. γνώμην**: i. e. to take the view that Nicomachus on his part was conscious that he was wrong, since with little or nothing to lose by it he refused to call in the testimony of the slaves. The reader is tempted to hope that this may have been an instance where motives of humanity prevailed.

37, 38. **εἴ τι ἔλεγον**, *if they had given any testimony;* meaning, adverse testimony. Scheibe has substituted **ἤλεγχον** for **ἔλεγον** of the MSS. Following Rauch. *et al.*, I have replaced the latter and added **τι**. — **τούτῳ**, *to him;* the examination by torture was conducted by the prosecutor, under

the direction of the proper official, called *βασανιστής*, Lat. *quaesitor*. — **ἔνοχος ἦν**: H. 746, b; G. 222, N. 1. — **ἦ ..προσῆκεν**, *than it belonged to me to deliver them over*. — **ἐγὼ τοίνυν...ἡγούμενος**, *I, you see, was thus forward, because I considered*; **μετ' ἐμοῦ**, *for my advantage*. — **οἷς**, *for whom*; dat. of adv.; by changing to the sing. in **ᾧ**, the accuser is more plainly pointed out; **τετόλμηκε**: sc. *μαρτυρεῖν*. — **καὶ...μᾶλλον**, *and whether it is more likely*. — **βοηθεῖν**: cf. § 20; there were too many prosecutions of another kind to make the supposition of a patriotic motive the first to suggest itself in judging of any particular case of litigation. — **συκ. αἰτιάσασθαι**, *or that he acted the sycophant in being the accuser*. Rauch. and Frohb. have *αἰτιᾶσθαι*, which corresponds better with *βοηθεῖν*.

39. **ἐγν. ὑμᾶς**, *that you are convinced*. — **οὐχ ὡς...ἀλλ' ὡς**: the first **ὡς** belongs with *ἐλπίζων*; the constr. is similar to the one in § 27, and XII. 2. — **οἱ τοιοῦτοι**, *such men*; i. e. men threatened with prosecution; **ἀπ. τῶν κινδύνων**, *in the greatest embarrassment from dangers*; H. 587, e; G. 180, N. 1. — **τοσούτῳ...μάλιστα**, *the more they all avoid them* (i. e. *τῶν κινδύνων*), *in every possible way*. Both the text and the interpretation of this sentence are doubtful.

40, 41. **οὐκ ἠξίουν**, *did not deem it worthy*, i. e. *τὸν τοιοῦτον κίνδυνον φεύγειν*. — **παρίσχον ἐμ...χρῆσθαι**, *I placed myself at your disposal*, lit. *to use as you wish*; **ὅ τι** in adv. accus. — **οὐδενὶ...διηλλάγην**: as if to say: I was not frightened into an attempt to make a compromise with my enemies. — **ἥδιον**, (even) *more gladly*; a hatred so intense that even their own self-love was, as it were, overborne by it; possibly a ref. here to something said in the course of the trial. — **ἐπιτρέπουσι**, *incite; to set on*, a dog, for instance, is *ἐπιτρέπειν*; **φανερῶς**, *openly*, is by *μέν* put in contrast with this indirect method. — **γενοίμην, εἰ...καταστ.**: H. 750; G. 227, 1. — **ἐρ....γενομένου**, *being made desolate*, i. e. in the event of his banishment.

42, 43. **ἀλλὰ γάρ**: cf. § 9. — **ὅτου ἕνεκα**: introd. an indir. question, of which the pred. is *κατέστησεν, καὶ...ζητεῖ, καὶ...ἤθελεν*. — **ἐξὸν...ἐλέγξαι**, *when it was possible to convict me in the very act*; H. 792, a; G. 278, 2. On the phrase **ἐπ' αὐτ.**, see XIII., Introd., and § 85, note. — **εἰς τοσ....ἀγῶνα**, *into so important a judicial contest*. — **ἐξὸν...ἀποδεῖξαι**: used concessively, and limiting the whole of the preceding clause. — **ἐμοῦ...διδόντος**, *when I offered*.

NOTES ON ORATION XXII.

1. **θαυμάζοντες**: H. 788, a; G. 277, 6; the *descriptive* part.; render with *ὅτι*, *thinking it remarkable that.* — **σιτοπωλῶν**: H. 583; G. 173, 2, N. — **εἰ...ἡγεῖσθε**, *if you consider them ever so guilty;* for **ὡς**, see H. 664; **οὐδέν**: H. 552; G. 160, 2. — **οὐδ' ἡτ....νομίζετε**, *believe none the less that*, etc.; **ποιουμ.**: mid.; see note, XII. 2; **συκοφ.**: on the "sycophants," cf. Introd.; also L. & S., sixth ed., *sub voce συκοφάντης.* — **περὶ τούτων**: neut., ref. to the prec. clause; H. 518, b.

2. **γάρ**: see note, XIII. 5; **οἱ Πρυτ.**, *the Prytanes;* see Lex., or *Dict. Ant.*, "Boule," for their specific duties. Note that the word in this meaning is peculiar to Athens; **ἀπέδοσαν**, *reported;* in accordance with their duty of presenting public business to the Senate. — **ἀργίσθησαν**: the subj. *they* is plainly referable to *τὴν βουλήν.* — **ὡς...χρή**: H. 734, 735; G. 243; **ζημιῶσαι**: H. 765; G. 265; **ἕνδεκα**: see Lex.; the dreaded Eleven, a board of officers often mentioned in the history of the Thirty Tyrants. — **ἰθίζεσθαι**: pass. with *βουλήν* for its subj., and itself the subj. of *εἶναι*; H. 773, a; G. 259. — **δοκοίη**: H. 736; G. 243. Observe that the clauses foll. *νομίζων* are also in indir. disc., and the tenses are to be rendered accordingly; **θανάτου**: after *ἄξια*; H. 584, e; G. 178, N.; **οὐδὲν...δίκ.**, *that you no less than we would decide justly;* addressed to the dicasts or judges; **ἀπολ.**: H. 417; its subj. is *αὐτούς.* The reader will recall occasional instances staining the page of Athenian history, where a sudden outburst of popular indignation denied justice to its victims, and sent them to execution without legal trial; e. g. the case of the generals who commanded at Arginusæ.

3, 4. **ταῦτα**: H. 553, and a; G. 197, N. 2. — **ἐποιούμην**: used as in § 1; the tense (imperf. in indir. disc., H. 735, a; *Gr. Moods*, 70, 2, N. 1, a) implies that this reproach was uttered after the afore-mentioned session; the imperf. thus used refers, with rare exceptions, to an action previously going on; here render: *I had made*, or, *been making.* — **πρός**, *before, in the presence of;* **αὐτοῖς**: i. e. the grain-dealers; so also *αὐτῶν* in the next sentence; **ἔργῳ ἀπελ.**, *I defended myself by deed;* render the foll. **γάρ**, *that is to say;* it explains *ἔργῳ.* — **τοῖς νόμοις...ἐβ.**, *had been upholding the*

established laws; **κεῖμαι** serves as a pass. of **τίθημι**, see Lex. On the tense of **ἔλεγον** and **ἐβ.**, see remark on **ἐποιούμην**, above. In both sentences it is possible that the imperf. may be intended to represent the pres. of direct disc. This would do no violence to the sense; there is nothing, however, in the context to require it; see H. 735, a, last rem.; *Gr. Moods*, 70, 2, N. 2. — **τούτων ἕνεκα**: i. e. on account of the slanderous accusations already related; further explained by **δεδ. τ. αἰτ.** following. — **ψηφίσ.**: H. 760, a; G. 240; **πρίν** freq. has **πρότερον** (sometimes **πρόσθεν**, also **πρίν** itself) as an antec. correl.; render both, *until.* — **ὅ τι ἂν βούλ.**: spoken deferentially; *until you have voted their condemnation* would have been the obvious completion of the sentence, had the speaker consulted only his own wish and hope.

5. The interrogation of one of the accused. One member of the firm or company is singled out: **εἰπὲ σύ.** — **μετοικεῖς**: syn. with **μέτοικος εἶ.** — **ὡς πεισ.**, *with the intention of obeying;* H. 795, e; G. 277, N. 2; **πότερον**: H. 831; G. 282, 5. A question fair enough in form, but one which might be put in a very insolent, browbeating way. — **ἄλλο τι...ἢ**: H. 829, a; G. 282, 3. An interrog. phrase, having the sense of **ἆρ' οὐκ.** — **ἐφ' οἷς**: refers to the collective **τί**; H. 514, c; G. 151, N. 2. Rauch. supposes it to refer to **τοιούτων** understood after **τί.** — **συμπρίασθαι** (**συνωνέομαι**): aor. inf. in ind. disc.; H. 717, b; G. 203; observe the force of the prep. in compos., as in the Lat. *coemo;* **φορμῶν**: after the compar. **πλείω.** — **ὧν.. κελεύει**, *which the law directs to be allowed;* gen. by attraction; H. 808; G. 153. — **τῶν ἀρχ.**, *the officers;* used throughout this oration in its general signif., and ref. to the **σιτοφύλακες**, as appears from § 8.

6, 7. **τὸν σῖτον**, *the grain;* restr. art.; H. 527, c; **ἀποψηφ.**: explain why the aor. is used, rather than the pres.; H. 716, a; so also **καταψηφ.** Cf. the pres. inf. **συνωνεῖσθαι**, above. — **παρεσχόμεθα**: as Frohb. suggests, probably in the indictment. — **μηδένα**: H. 838; G. 283, 6. — **χρῆν**: H. 703; G. 222, N. 2. — **ἀπαγ. φαίνεται**, *plainly forbids it;* H. 802; Kühn. 311, 8. The causal clause introd. by **ἐπειδή**, *since*, extends to **ψηφιεῖσθαι.** — **εἰπεῖν**: dep. on **ἀνάγκη**; H. 767; G. 261.

8. **παρακαλ.**, *having summoned;* this was in the preliminary hearing of the grain-dealers before the Senate. — **οἱ...τέσσαρες**, *four of them;* H. 528; *the four*, besides Anytus, out of the five inspectors; probably the five appointed for the Piræus. — **ὡς...συμβουλ.**: cl. of ind. disc.; **τούτων, κ. τ. λ.**, *when they were outbidding and fighting against one another;* **σφᾶς αὐτούς** has a recip. force, and thus is syn. with **ἀλλ.**; H. 672, b; G. 146, N. 3. — **παύσ. φιλονεικοῦσιν**: cf note, XII. 1, on **παύσ. λέγοντι.** — **ἡγούμ....πρίασθαι**, *believing it to be advantageous to you who buy from these that they should previously buy it as cheap as possible;* note the force of the aorist (**πρίασθαι**), denoting a prior action as compared with **ὠνουμένοις.** — **δεῖν**:

ind. disc. still continued; H. 738; G. 273; **ὀβολῷ μόνον...τιμ.**, *not more than an obol dearer* (H. 610; G. 188, 2); the law being, as it appears, that the retail dealer should be allowed only one obol profit, about three cents, on the medimnus.

9. **οὐ** qualifies the whole clause; H. 837, a; cf. on the contrary *μή*, below. Each of the cl. introd. by **ὡς** dep. on *μάρτυρα*; **καταθέσθαι**, *to store up.* — **ἐπὶ...βουλῆς**, *during the session of the previous Senate*, the Senate of the previous year. The Senators were chosen annually. — **συνωνούμ.**: not the part. used for the imperf. (which is Frohb.'s view), but rather as the progressive perf.

10. **ἂν ὡς μάλ.**: see note, § 1. — **οὐχ...ἀπολογ.**, *that they will not be making out a defence for themselves, but will* (only) *be accusing these.* — **περὶ...ὧν...δίκην**, *ought they not to be punished for* (offences) *concerning which*, etc.; the antec. of **ὧν** is in the gen., limiting **δίκην**: the foll. partt. are the subj. of **διδόναι**; **τούτοις** refers to **νόμοι**. Translate: *ought they not to be punished, — those who do not obey, as well as those who direct to do what is contrary to these?* Here, as in § 17, **πῶς οὐ** = Lat. *nonne*; cf. XII. 84.

11. **οὐκ ἐλεύσ.**, *will not resort*; this form for the fut. of *to come* is rare in Attic prose; oftener *ἥξειν, ἀφίξεσθαι.* — **ὥσπερ...βουλῇ**, *just as they did in the Senate.* In an adverbial or relative clause expressing comparison, the strengthening *καί*, *also*, may generally be omitted in translation, or else be transferred to the principal clause. English usage places the emphasis on the demonstrative, rather than on the relative clause of the comparison; Greek places *καί* in the latter, or in both. Cf. Krüger's *Griechische Sprachlehre*, 69, 32, 13. — **ἐπ' εὐν....πόλεως**, *out of good-will to the city*; **ἐπί** here, as often, denotes the ground or occasion of an action; hence = *for*, *because of*, *out of*; for **πόλεως**, see H. 565; G. 167, 3.

12. **γάρ**, as in § 2; **φαίνεσθαι...πωλ.**: with **ἐχρῆν**: *they ought to have been found selling.* — **τιμῆς**: H. 578; G. 178; **ὁ συνεωνημένος**: sc. **σῖτος**; used here in its pass. sense; **νυνί**, but *as it is.* — **τῆς αὐτ. ἡμ.**, *on the same day*; cf. with *ἡμέρας*, above, denoting time *during which*; **ὥσπερ...συνων.**, *as if they were buying it up by the medimnus*; the part. denotes the same time as *ἐπώλουν*. In selling, he maintains, they kept with the rising prices, though the wheat they were selling had been bought long before at low rates.

13. **δεινὸν...εἰ**, *strange that*; *εἰ* after *δ.*, as after corresponding verbs of surprise, etc., may often be rendered by *that*; see note, XII. 36. The speaker ironically expresses his surprise that their vaunted public spirit, which ran the risk of capital punishment in order to supply the city with breadstuffs, should invariably be poverty-stricken whenever the necessities of the state called for the imposition of a war-tax; **ἣν...μέλλουσιν**, *which all*

will know of; i. e. the payment of a special tax of this kind would be known to the public. — **ἐφ' οἷς...ταῦτα**, *those offences for which the penalty is death and* (in which) *it was for their interest to escape detection;* the latter part of the clause is loosely connected with the rel. phrase **ἐφ' οἷς**, and does not depend upon it used in precisely the same sense; but it is not necessary to the completeness of the Greek construction to supply either another relative, or a demonstrative; see H. 818, c and d; **ταῦτα** is the antec. of **οἷς**, and cogn. accus. after **παραν.**; **ὑμετέρᾳ**: H. 677; G. 147, N. 1.— **τοι. τοιεῖσθαι λόγ.**, *to make such a defense.* — **αὐτοῖς, ἄλλοις**: dat. after *συμφ.* They and the citizens have interests precisely opposite. — **πόλει**: after **κακοῦ**.

14. **ἄσμενοι**: H. 488, c. — **τὰς δὲ...λογοπ.**, *and others they make up themselves;* if actual calamities are wanting, they invent reports of them. — **Πόντῳ**: the Tauric Chersonese was the granary of Athens, and there was shipped to the Piræus from the grain ports of the Black Sea more wheat than from all other quarters. See *Pub. Econ.*, p. 109 *seq.* — **ἐκπλεούσας**: i. e. on their way out of the Pontus and the Hellespont. — **τὰς σπονδάς**: the treaty existing at that time; it is likely that the Peace of Antalcidas, made 387 B. C., is here referred to; so Frohb. shows by comparison of passages in Xenophon's *Hellenica.* This is the only clew afforded in the oration for determining its date; **ἄπορ.**, *to be declared void;* fr. **ἀπεῖπον**.

15. **ἔχθρας**: H. 559, c; G. 168. — **ἵνα...διαφερ.**, *that we may not dispute with them about the price.* — **ἂν...ἀπέλθωμεν**, *if we get away from them, having effected a purchase at any price whatever;* **ὁποσουτ.**: see Lex., **ὁπόσος**. Cf. H. 251. — **πολιορκ.**, *we are kept in a state of siege.* Some of the court might remember the winter that closed the Peloponnesian War, when the city was blockaded by the Lacedæmonians, and numbers died of starvation. There would then be a touch of pathos in the suggested associations, heightening the humorous allusion to the purchaser glad to get out of the clutches of the dealer on any terms.

16. **οὗτω...ἔγνωκεν**, *has come to have such an opinion.* — **φύλακας**, *as inspectors;* pred. accus.; **κατεστ.** is prob. the aor. for our perf.; **ἀποκληροῦτε**: this was one of the offices that were filled by lot. In Scheibe it is **ἀπεκληροῦτε**, but Rauch. and Frohb. rightly prefer the pres., as in the MSS. — **πολ. ὄντων**, *although they were citizens;* H. 789, f; G. 277, 5; **ἐκείνων** refers to *σιτοφ.*, above. They were, of course, Athenians, while the grain-dealers were mostly foreign residents. The trade and manufactures of Athens were in those times largely in the hands of foreigners. — **αὐτούς**: intens.; *the criminals themselves;* **φυλάττειν**, *to restrain.* An additional indication of the severity of the law.

17. **ἀδύνατον**, *impossible;* that is, in the discharge of their sworn duty as jurors, for the reason that the accused had themselves already confessed to a

violation of the law. — **ὁμολ. αὐτῶν** : agr. with the obj. of *ἀπογνώσεσθε*, i. e. *τούτων* understood ; transl., *when they themselves acknowledge.* The time denoted by *συνίστασθαι* is to be ascertained from the context ; see note on **ἀφανίζειν**, VII. 2. Render : *that they were engaged in a combination ;* **τοῖς εἰσπλ.** : syn. with *τοὺς ἐμπόρους* ; the merchants who entered the Athenian ports. This sent. seems to be introd. by *γάρ* not as stating the reason for what precedes, but as including it, implied in *ὁμολ. αὐτῶν.* — **ἂν εἶχε... ἐπιτιμᾶν,** *could censure.* — **ἐφ' ὑμῖν** : sc. *ἐστίν,* (it is in such cases) *at your discretion to believe,* etc. — **ἂν δόξαιτε, εἰ... ἀφήσ.** : a mixed cond. sent. ; H. 750 ; G. 227.

18, 19. ὅτι...κατέγνωτε, *that you have already condemned many accused of this crime,* etc. ; **ἐχ. αἰτίαν** = *crimen habere ;* the adv. *ἤδη* with the verb requires it to be rendered by the Eng. perf. — **μᾶλλον ἐπεθ.,** *you were more desirous ;* the other member of the comparison is implied, i. e. than upon those who admit their guilt. — **καὶ μὲν δή** : see note, XII. 30 ; **κοινότ.,** *of the most general interest ;* in those judicial decisions which affected the price of bread, the public would naturally feel the keenest interest ; further explained by *ἡγούμενοι, κ. τ. λ., for they will think,* etc. The effect of just punishment as a preventive of future crime is still more emphatically referred to in the next sect. ; cf. XII. 35. — **ἐψηφ. ἔσεσθε** : H. 713 ; G. 98, 2, N. ; **ποιεῖν** : after **ἄδειαν,** as in XII. 85.

20, 21. τῶν μ. ἔσεσθαι : that is, what treatment the violators of these laws are to expect in the future. — **οὕτω...ἀνεκτοί,** *for in that case they will be only just endurable ; μόγις* has here its positive, not its negative force : *just, barely,* not *scarcely, hardly.* You can perhaps manage to get along tolerably with them, if you make the present case a suitable example. *οὕτω* is used as in VII. 22. — **πλεῖστοι,** *the most,* i. e. more persons than from any other pursuit ; **περὶ...ἠγων.,** *have been tried for their lives,* syn. with *περὶ...κιν δ.,* below. — **καὶ...ὠφελοῦνται,** *and so great are their profits from it.* — **πολιτῶν** : limits the understood antec. of *οἵ.* — **συνέστησαν** : cf. *συνίστασθαι,* § 17. — **παρ' αὐτῶν** : ref. to the defendants, as *αὐτούς,* above. — **οἷς,** *and these ;* the rel. must be understood in a diff. case with *ποιήσετε* ; H. 818, c.

22. ὅ τι.. δεῖ, *why there is need ; ὅ τι* is adv. accus. Cf. VII. 40. — **τῶν...ἀδικ.,** *other criminals ;* the art. (repeated with *ἄλλων*) has its generic force, hence may be omitted in transl. — **ἀξ.** : H. 488, R. c. This *ad captandum* argument has evidently been reserved by the speaker as the sharpest and surest arrow in his quiver.

NOTES ON ORATION II.

On the "Ceramicus," see *Dict. Geog.*, I. p. 303, "The Outer Ceramicus and the Academy." Interesting details concerning the tombs are given in Dyer's *Ancient Athens*, p. 492 *seq.* The student is also recommended to read the Platonic dialogue *Menexenus*, in Jowett's admirable translation. It should be said, however, that the introduction by the distinguished translator scarcely does justice either to the merits of the discourse contained in the dialogue, or to the significance of this class of orations in republican Athens. The student will find in the *Menexenus* many points of suggestive contrast with this oration, which, if the theory of Schleiermacher and Grote (mentioned in the Introd.) be correct, is invested with additional interest as a contemporaneous and rival production.

1. **ἐμεμψ. ἄν**, *I should blame;* the aor. with **ἄν**, after an imperf. in the cond., sometimes denotes present time; *Gr. Moods*, 49, 2, N. 5. — **τοῖς... λέγειν**, *those who summoned me to speak at few days' notice;* cf. **ἐξ ὀλίγου**, *at short notice*, below; **ἐκ**, in the sense of *after*. That the election of the orator was often left to a late day would appear from Plato: "This time, however, I am inclined to think that the speaker who is chosen will not have much to say; for the choice has been quite sudden, and he will be compelled almost to improvise." (*Menex.*, III.) — **ὁ πᾶς χ.**, *all time;* H. 537; G. 142, 4, N. 1. — **οὕτως...τυγχ.**, *that thus they would obtain*, etc.; H. 574, c; G. 171, 1.

2. **πρός**, *with;* my discourse is not to vie with their deeds; **τοὺς...εἰρηκ.**: the customary eulogy on these occasions embraced the heroic deeds of all the dead whose memorials adorned the Ceramicus. Thus the theme of each speaker was to a great extent the same as that of previous orators. — **ἀφθονίαν**, *abundance;* i. e. of themes for emulation. — **ποιεῖν**, *to compose poetry;* in early Eng. *make* had also this signif. Taylor appositely cites Spenser: —

> "What is he for a ladde you so lament?
> Ys love such pinching paine to them that prove?
> And hath he skill *to make* so excellent,
> Yet hath so little skill to bridle love?"

The parallel expression in Isoc., *Panegyr.*, is: τῶν ποιεῖν δυναμένων, ἢ τῶν λέγειν ἐπισταμένων. — **καλὰ μέν**: μέν is here concess.; its force may be reproduced by rendering it *although* in a subord. cl.; *although many excellent things have been said*, etc.; **δέ**, *yet;* observe the similar constr. in the preceding sent. — **ἐκείνοις**: i. e. τοῖς προτέροις; dat. of agent; **ἱκανά**: obj. of εἰπεῖν. — **γῆς, θαλάττης**: H. 584, c; G. 180, 1; **ἄπειροι**, *without experience of;* they had met peril on every shore. — **κακά**: placed after the part., instead of being in its normal position before it. For other instances of such misplacement of words for rhetorical effect (hyperbaton, as the ancients called it), see XIII. 43, τῇ πόλει; XXIV. 21, ὑμῖν; XII. 94, νῦν.

3. τῶν προγ., *our forefathers;* **φήμης**, *tradition;* not *legend*, as if there were necessarily implied any want of belief in the historic truth of what he was about to relate. History for readers had in that age but just begun to be composed among the Greeks; they had as yet scarcely attempted to distinguish between legend and history. — **κἀκείνων**: καί = *also;* the ancient as well as the recent dead. — **γνάμαις**: West. has μνήμαις, but the weight of MS. authority is for the former. τῶν ἀγαθ. is then obj. gen., — the current sayings and anecdotes concerning the brave.

4. The Amazons hold a prominent place in Greek literature, from the *Iliad* down. Of their invasion of Attica there is frequent mention. Plutarch, in his *Life of Theseus*, describes the final battle, defining the position and movements of the contending armies, and giving the day of the month in which the engagement took place. Isocrates, in the *Panegyricus*, refers to the Amazons in language similar to that employed here. Plato, Herodotus, and the ancients generally, believed this nation of warrior-women to have actually existed. Consult *Class. Dict.;* also Grote, I. p. 208 *seq.*, where an excellent statement is to be found of the views of the Greeks concerning them. The Greek chronologists made Theseus contemporary with Hercules, in the thirteenth century B. C., and during his reign the invasion was supposed to have taken place.

γάρ: see note, XIII. 5; **οἰκοῦσαι**: sc. ἦσαν. The Thermodon is a small stream of Pontus, flowing into the Euxine east of the river Iris. It was in this region that the Argonauts encountered the Amazons. — **τῶν περὶ αὐτάς**, *of those in their region;* dep. on μάναι. — **ᾗρουν**, *overtook;* **ἀνελπ.**, *unexpectedly;* to their enemies' surprise. — **διαφέρειν**, *to surpass;* **ἢ...ἐλλείπειν**, *than to be inferior in their forms;* i. e. in size and strength. What is the etymology and original signif. of our word *idea?*

5. ἔργῳ, λόγῳ: the funeral orations seem to have rung all possible changes on this antithesis of deeds and words. Jowett's paraphrase of the Platonic oration in *Menex.* felicitously begins: "There is a tribute of deeds and of words." Here the contrast between *deed* and *report* — between their own deeds and the report conveyed by others — seems somewhat forced.

Throughout the oration there is an excessive striving after antitheses, — see already in § 4, — a fault vigorously condemned by Reiske: "Mirifice et ad fastidium luxuriat hac in oratione Lysias, cum antithesis molestissimis, frigus et nauseam creantibus, tum illa perpetua oppositione, sæpe perquam inepta et puerili, inter *μέν* et *δέ*."

The participial construction also abounds in this oration, participles following one another in some passages instead of adverbial clauses. In many of these cases, it is preferable to translate the partt. by clauses, acc. to the logical requirements of the sentence. — **παραλαβοῦσαι...ἐστράτ.**, *took with them and marched.* It will be seen that the part. is connected in thought with the pred. more closely than those which precede; **πολλῆς... χάριν**: Plutarch follows another legend, and says that the war arose in consequence of the carrying off of Antiope by Theseus in one of his expeditions. — **ἐκτήσαντο**, *acquired, came to have their souls like their nature;* cf. *φύσει* with *ἰδίαις*, above. — **τῆς προτ.**: after *ἐναντίαν*; H. 584, g; G. 180, 1, and 174; *ἐναντίος* may take the gen. when it denotes *the opposite of, different from;* **ἐκ τῶν κινδ.**, *from their dangers;* meaning from their conduct when in danger.

6. **μαθούσαις**: H. 789, b; G. 277, 2; **τῶν λοιπῶν**: i. e. their future enterprises. — **οὐδὲ...ἀπελθ.**: cf. Isocr., *Panegyr.*, 70: *τῶν μὲν ἐλθουσῶν οὐδεμία πάλιν ἀπῆλθεν.* — **αὐτοῦ**: adv.; **πόλεως** limits *μνήμην*; **διὰ τὴν ἀρετήν**, *on account of its valor.*

7. The orator next relates the part taken by Athens in the mythical expedition of the Seven against Thebes. See Grote, I. p. 272 *seq.* Seven chieftains led their troops against the City of Seven Gates, — Adrastus, Amphiaraus, Capaneus, Hippomedon, Parthenopæus, Tydeus, and Polynices. After their defeat, "Adrastus, unable to obtain permission from the Thebans to inter the fallen chieftains, presented himself in suppliant guise, accompanied by their disconsolate mothers, to Theseus at Eleusis. He implored the Athenian warrior to extort from the perverse Thebans that last melancholy privilege which no decent or pious Greeks ever thought of withholding, and thus to stand forth as the champion of Grecian public morality in one of its most essential points, not less than of the rights of the subterranean gods. The Thebans obstinately persisting in their refusal, Theseus undertook an expedition against their city, vanquished them in the field, and compelled them by force of arms to permit the sepulture of their fallen enemies. This chivalrous interposition, celebrated in one of the preserved dramas of Euripides, formed a subject of glorious recollection to the Athenians throughout the historical age; their orators dwelt upon it in terms of animated panegyric; and it seems to have been accepted as a real fact of the past time, with not less implicit conviction than the battle of Marathon." (Grote, I. p. 277.)

The participles in this sentence (§§ 7 – 9) should be closely studied. The first three are all temporal; στρατ. and ἡττηθ., however, belong to ἐώντων, which latter, denoting a continued state or action in time past, is more closely connected with ἐδέοντο, *when the Thebans did not permit*, etc., *they sent heralds and besought*; ἠγησάμ.: causal; ἀποθαν, *by their death.* — τοὺς...κάτω, *the gods below*; the gods of the underworld, Pluto and Persephone, with the deities subordinate to them; τὰ αὑτῶν, *their* (due honors); namely, the customary funeral rites. — ἱερῶν δὲ μιαν., *and holy places being polluted*; the groves and sacred enclosures outside of the city, which the presence of the dead would pollute; Pausanias mentions, for instance, temples of Zeus and of Themis, situated west of the city.

8, 9. ἀνδρῶν: H. 572, e; G. 169, 1; also understood with ἀπιστ. in the next cl.; *but of men who distrusted themselves.* — τούτων, dep. on τυχεῖν, is either *this*, referring to the request, or *these*, referring to τῶν νεκρῶν. — οὐδεμιᾶς...ὑπαρχ., *although there was previously no occasion of hostility*, etc.; οὐδὲ...χαριζ., *and not because they were trying to please*; χαριζ. and ἀξ. are causal. — τῶν νομιζομένων, *the customary rites*; ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων: for the real interests of both contending parties; ἑτέρους refers to the Thebans; ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν (for ὑπερ τῶν μέν, the particle being placed after the first word of the phrase) refers to the Thebans, and τῶν ἑτέρων to the Argives; they are in appos. with ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων. In the latter of the two phrases, ἑτέρων is unnecessary. — πλείω: cogn. accus. after ἐξυβρ.; πατρίου, *ancestral*; sanctioned by hereditary usage.

10. κοινὰς ἁπ. ἀνθ., *common to all men*; H. 587, c; G. 181. — ἐπαρθέντες (ἐπαίρω): causal; οὐχ is placed at the beginning, because it qualifies the whole pred. of the clause. — Καδμείων: the name of Thebes in the mythical period was Καδμεία, a name afterwards confined to the citadel. — νεκρούς: in appos. with ἆθλα. — ἐν...Ἐλευσ., *in their Eleusis*; i. e. Eleusis in Attica. There was an ancient town in Bœotia bearing the same name.

11. "After the death and apotheosis of Heracles, his son Hyllos and his other children were expelled and persecuted by Eurystheus; the fear of his vengeance deterred both the Trachinian king Keyx and the Thebans from harboring them, and the Athenians alone were generous enough to brave the risk of offering them shelter. Eurystheus invaded Attica, but perished in the attempt by the hand of Hyllos, or by that of Iolaos, the old companion and nephew of Heracles. The chivalrous courage which the Athenians had on this occasion displayed in behalf of oppressed innocence was a favorite theme for subsequent eulogy by Attic poets and orators." (Grote, I. p. 94.)

According to the Alexandrian chronologists, Hercules belonged to the generation immediately preceding the Trojan War. They make Eurystheus to have been slain B. C. 1207. Isocrates says, "long before the Trojan War" (πολὺ πρὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν); *Panegyr.*, § 54.

Εὐρυσθ.: king of Mycenæ; see *Class. Dict.* — **ἠφανίσθη**: by plup. in Eng.; H. 706; **ἐξηλαύν.**, *were driven forth* (from one city after another); note the force of the imperf. — **αἰσχ....ἐγγυς**, *ashamed, it is true, of their act*, i. e. in refusing shelter to the sons of Hercules. — **ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν**: "All altars were places of refuge. The supplicants were considered as placing themselves under the protection of the deities to whom the altars were consecrated." (*Dict. Ant.*, "Ara.")

12. οὐκ ἠθέλ., *would not*; **μετὰ...διαμάχ.**, *to contend on the side of justice.* — **τὴν...ἠδοῦντο**, *reverenced the virtues of Hercules*; **ἀρετή** in such a connection commonly has a broader signif. than *valor*, *prowess*, for which **ἀνδρία**, **εὐψυχία**, and other syn. are used. In the *Funeral Oration* attributed to Demosthenes, the speaker remarks that valor (**ἀνδρία**) is only one of the elements of **ἀρετή**. — **χαριζόμενοι**: as in § 8, giving the reason.

13. μετὰ τῶν...ἐχ., *with*, i. e. *with the aid of*, etc.; Peloponnesus, before its invasion by the Dorians, was inhabited by the Achæans, Arcadians, and other tribes of more or less pure Hellenic blood. — **οὐκ...μετέγνωσαν**, *they did not repent on the approach of danger*; **δεινῶν**: after **ἐγγύς**; H. 589; G. 182, 2. — **ὁποῖοι...γενόμενοι**, *what sort of men they would become*; lit. *of what sort they would be, having become men*; **ἄνδρες**: pred. nom. with **γενόμ.** The preceding **ἐκείνους**, acc. to Greek usage, anticipates the subj. of the clause; it may be omitted in transl. See H. 726.

14. οὐδὲ...ἀγαθῆς, *and no gain offering itself except a good renown.* — **καὶ τοὺς μέν,...τοῖς δέ**, *and...the latter,...the former.* — **μηδὲν ποιεῖν ἄκοντας**, *to do nothing by compulsion*; subj. of **εἶναι**; **ἄκοντας** agr. with indeterm. subj. of **ποιεῖν**. — **ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀμφ.**, *in behalf of both of these*; i. e. justice and the oppressed.

15. τοσοῦτον...ἐφ., *were so proud.* — **αὐτὸν ἱκετεύοντα**, *even if he should come as a suppliant himself.* — **ἐλθοῦσαν**: for its position, see H. 532, a, and cf. XII. 77. — **καὶ τ. ψ. ἠλευθ.**, *set free their souls also.* — **τοῖς...ἐστεφάνωσαν**, *by their own perils crowned them with victory*; i. e. secured their triumph. By a rather forced figure, the verb meaning *to designate as victor*, i. e. by bestowing a crown, is used meaning *to render victorious.* So Reiske: "coronabant, hoc est, victores reddebant." Baur: "bekränzten sie mit den Preisen ihrer eignen Kämpfe."

16. τοσοῦτον...εὐτ., *so much more fortunate than their father*; observe that **τοσ.** refers not to what precedes, but to what follows; which, instead of a cl. of conseq., is an indep. sent. introd. by **γάρ**. The sense is given by rendering **τοσ.**, *much*, and **γάρ**, as usual, *for*. Though the sons of Hercules had not reached manhood, they had obtained what had never been granted to their father with all his might. — **ἐπιτ....τὸν βίον**, *having made life toilsome*, etc.; **καὶ...ὄντα**, *although he was.* — **εἶδον**: see the similar hyperbaton in § 2, **πενθοῦντες**.

The preceding passage offers many marked similarities of thought and expression to §§ 54 – 60 of the *Panegyricus*.

17. The Athenians are extolled as the natural champions of human rights, by virtue not only of their autochthonous origin, but also of their free institutions. The birth of their race from the soil on which they lived was a favorite theme with the orators in their panegyrics. It was deemed an honor peculiar to the Attic people. In the *Iliad*, Erechtheus, the oldest name in the Attic genealogy, is said to be born of the Earth: —

ὃν ποτ' Ἀθήνη
θρέψε, Διὸς θυγάτηρ, τέκε δὲ ζείδωρος ἄρουρα.
Il., II. 547, 548.

— **πολλὰ...ὑπῆρχε**, *thus, accordingly, did it fall to our ancestors*, etc.; the subj. is διαμάχ. — **ἥ τε γάρ**: the correl. of *τέ* is *δέ* at the beginning of § 18; H. 855, b. — **ᾤκησαν**, *became inhabitants of;* incept. aor.; **οἱ πολλοί**: i. e. most nations. — **ἀλλὰ...πατρίδα**, *but, being autochthonous, they had the same soil as both mother and country.* Isocr. says: μόνοις γὰρ ἡμῖν τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὴν αὐτὴν τροφὸν καὶ πατρίδα καὶ μητέρα καλέσαι προσήκει. *Panegyr.*, § 25. And Plato: "Their ancestors were not strangers, nor are these their descendants sojourners only, whose fathers have come from another country; but they are the children of the soil, dwelling and living in their own land. And the country which brought them up is not like other countries, a stepmother to her children, but their own true mother; she bore them and nourished them and received them, and in her bosom they now repose." *Menexenus*, VI., Jowett's transl.

18, 19. δέ: correl. with *τέ* above; it introd. a second reason; **ἐν... χρόνῳ**: the expulsion of the dynasty of the Pisistratidæ occurred B. C. 510. The constitutional changes introduced by Clisthenes followed immediately after, and with him the Athenian democracy began. — **τὴν ἐλευθ....μεγίστην**, *that the freedom of all is* (amounts to, results in) *the greatest harmony;* "libertatem omnium summam efficere concordiam." Auger. — **τὰς...ἐλπίδας**: i. e. the hope of what would be gained by the dangers they endured; hence translate, *the rewards of their dangers:* in times of danger all were animated with a common hope; **κοινάς.. ἀλλ.**: to be shared by one as well as another, hence *common to all;* **ἐπολιτεύοντο**, *administered the government.* — **βίᾳ**, *by force;* in distinction from *νόμῳ*; an essential difference between an arbitrary and a constitutional government. — **ὁρίσαι**, *to define;* observe the meaning of *ὅρος* = Lat. *finis*, and of the derivatives *horizon, aorist*, etc. — **ἔργῳ δὲ...ὑπηρ.**, *and in their actions to yield obedience to these;* expl. by what follows. They acted with Law as their King, and Discourse as their Teacher.

Only this passing glance is given to the free institutions and the charac-

teristic civil polity of Athens. For a worthier eulogy based on a discriminating analysis, we must turn to the orations of Pericles.

20. In the following sections (20 – 47) the orator extols the martial valor and the Pan-hellenic patriotism of his countrymen in repelling the Persian invasions; the first commanded by Datis and Artaphernes, B. C. 490; the next under Xerxes, ten years later. The reader will do well to consult Grote, or, for a more compact narrative, Curtius, Vol. II., the chapter on "The Wars of Liberation."

καὶ γάρ τοι: this phrase freq. introduces a conclusion, consequence, or illustration. It then = Lat. *itaque*, *accordingly*, *and thus*, *therefore*, καί having a connective, γάρ an epexegetic, and τοί a confirmative force. For other exx. of this use (distinct from the signif. in which it is more freq. used = Lat. *etenim profecto*), see § 26; also Demosth., *Phil.*, I. 6; *De Cor.*, 99; *De Falsa Legat.*, 137 and 325. — **καὶ φύντες, κ. τ. λ.**, *being of noble descent and of one mind;* **γ. ὅμοια** may be understood in two ways: (1) *entertaining like sentiments*, i. e. the sentiments of liberty, equality, and harmony spoken of above, — an interpretation which Reiske prefers, and which accords with the context; (2) *entertaining corresponding sentiments*, i. e. sentiments and aims corresponding to their honorable descent. Thus Baur: "*ebenso gesinnt.*" — **πανταχοῦ**: used as adj., *everywhere existing.*

21. βασιλεύς: Darius, the son of Hystaspes; **πεντ. μυριάδ.**, *fifty "myriads," half a million;* the reader will remember that this is eulogy, not history. The number led by Datis and Artaphernes is variously estimated; see Grote, IV. p. 345, note; Curtius, II. p. 235, note. 100,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry is the lowest estimate. In the Platonic oration it is "fifty myriads and three hundred ships"; *Menex.*, X. — **ἐκοῦσαν, ἄκουσαν**: H. 488, Rem. c; they may be rendered, *without force*, *by force.* — **οὕτως** may be omitted in transl.; it refers to the condition expressed in the cl. *εἰ...ποιήσαιντο, if they should bring on the conflict*, etc.

22. περὶ τῆς πόλ.: limits **τοι. δόξα**, *such an opinion*, i. e. the opinion expressed in the foll.; **ἴασιν, πολεμήσουσι**: both retain the tense of direct disc.; the former has its future sense; H. 699, a; G. 200, N. 3; **ἐκείνοις**: ref. to **ἄλλην πόλιν** in its collect. signif. — **ἥξουσι**, *they would come*, i. e. the Athenians; still ind. disc. after **δόξα**, continued also with change of mode in **τολμήσειν**, below. — **φανερὰν...καταθέσθαι**, *to assume in their behalf an attitude of open hostility with them*, i. e. the Persians. The verb properly denotes to make a deposit with a person, with the understanding of repayment. Cf. Demosth., XV. 11.

23. οἱ μὲν...δισν., *they, then, reasoned thus;* **οὐ λογ. εἰδότες**, *making no account of;* in most of the MSS. there is a lacuna. — **ἀθάνατον**: H. 885, fine print, last sent. — **δεῖν...εἰδέναι**, *that they ought to be indebted for their rescue to others;* see Lex., **χάρις**.

24. ταῦτα...γνόντες: cf. γ. ὅμοια, § 20. — **μετὰ πάντων**, *in common with all men.* — **τὰς μὲν.. κεκτῆσθαι**, *that because of death their lives were not their own;* lit. *they possessed their lives belonging to another.* They held their lives as of little worth, for really they were not theirs. So Isocr., *Panegyr.*, 86, also speaking of his countrymen at Marathon: *ὥσπερ ἐν ἀλλοτρίαις ψυχαῖς μέλλοντες κινδυνεύσειν, as if they were about to go into battle with the lives of others.* Similarly, in Thucyd., I. 70, the Corinthian orator says of the Athenians: *ἔτι δὲ τοῖς μὲν σώμασιν ἀλλοτριωτάτοις ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως χρῶνται, further, in the cause of the state they treat their bodies as if they absolutely belonged to another.* — **νικῷεν**: H. 757; G. 232, 4; cf. 247, N. 3; supply *νικᾶν* after *δύνασθαι*, with the antec. of *οὓς* for its obj. — **ὀλίγῳ ...προαπ.**, *that they should perish* (only) *a little before the rest;* H. 610; G. 188, 2.

25, 26. ὑπὲρ...φιλοψυχ., *not grudging their lives in the cause of virtue and valor;* on the meaning of *ἀρετή*, see note on § 12, and cf. L. & S., sixth ed. — **τρόπαια...τῶν βαρβ....ἐμβαλόντων**, *trophies of* (their victory over) *the barbarians who had made an invasion*, etc.; **ἐν τῇ αὑτῶν...παρὰ... χώρας**, *in their own country, on the borders of the land;* the arrangement of the phrases in this part of the sentence cannot be commended for either elegance or perspicuity. — **οὕτω...διὰ ταχέων**, *so quickly.* — **καὶ γάρ τοι**: see § 20; **ὑπέρ** in each cl. has its causal signif., *because of;* in the latter cl. transl. *over.* — **τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν**, *the glory of them;* i. e. *τῶν ἔργων.*

27. ἀχθόμενος...συμφ., *grieved at the disaster;* **ἀπαθὴς...κακ.**, *and not having suffered misfortunes.* These brief touches characterize not inappropriately the weak and passionate monarch. — **δεκ. ἔτει**: in the spring of 480, after having spent the winter in Sardis, Xerxes and his host set out from that city. — **οὕτως ἄπειρον**: a diff. word from *ἄπειρος*, above, being derived from alpha privative and *πέρας* or *πεῖρας, end, limit;* in order to give the pred. adj. its proper force, render: *the number of the land-army he led was so vast.* Herod. says: "For was there a nation in all Asia which Xerxes did not bring with him against Greece? Or was there a river, except those of unusual size, which sufficed for his troops to drink?" Rawlinson's transl., IV. p. 19.

28, 29. σημεῖον: H. 502, c; the foll. *γάρ* is epexegetic. He finds an incidental evidence of the magnitude of the host in the fact that it was considered a saving of time to construct such a bridge for its transportation. — **τὰ πεφ.**, *the obstacles of nature;* **τὰ θ. πράγ.**, *the deeds of the gods;* the latter referring doubtless to the storm which destroyed the first bridge, and to the other portents mentioned by Herod. — **πλοῦν...ἠνάγ. γενέσθαι**, *forced a voyage to be made;* explained by *διορύξας ...Ἄθω.* On this latter form, see H. 148; G. 42, N. — **τῶν μὲν...ὑπακου.**, *some reluctantly submitting;* **ἀκόντων** and **ἑκόντων** are pred. adjj.; H. 488, R. c; G. 138, N. 7. Herod.

names various tribes "that submitted without necessity, when their affairs were in good condition," among them the Bœotians, except the Platæans and Thespians. — **ἀμφότερα**: defined by the foll. appositives *κέρδος* and *δέος*; H. 500, d.

30, 31. αὐτοὶ...ἐμβάντες, *embarking in person;* not employing mercenary troops and substitutes, as became common at a later date; **ἐπὶ...ἐβοήθ.**, *went with assistance to.* — **Λακεδαιμόνιοι** in § 31 is without a pred. On Scheibe's suggestion we may supply *ἀπώλοντο, perished*, in the lacuna after *ἔμελλον*. This unwieldy sentence extends (acc. to Scheibe's punctuation) unbroken into § 34. — **τοῦ πλήθους**: H. 580, 1; G. 174; supply a partit. gen. after it as the antec. of the foll. relatives. — **οὐχ ἡττηθ., κ. τ. λ.**: they were killed, but not conquered, — a favorite thought with the orators. So Lycurgus, of those who fell at Chæronea, in almost the same words: *οὐχ ἡττηθέντες, ἀλλ' ἀποθανόντες ἐνθαπερ ἐτάχθησαν.* (*Against Leocrates*, § 48.) Isocr., *Panegyr.*, 92, of the Spartans at Thermopylæ: "Surely it is wrong to say that they were conquered, for no one of them deigned to flee."

32, 33. τῶν μέν: the Lacedæmonians; **τῶν δέ**: the Persians; **τῆς παρόδου**: of Thermopylæ; **οἱ μέν**, *the latter.* — **τοῖς...πράγμασιν**, *the dangers that encompassed them; περιέστηκα* often = *to encompass in a threatening manner.* — **ἐρήμην...λήψ.**, *they* (i. e. the barbarians) *would take the city being left defenceless.* — **εἰ...ἁλώσονται**, *but if*, etc., *that they* (i. e. Athens) *would be captured by the land-army.* — **δυνήσονται**: join with *ὅτι*, above. — **δυοῖν**: gen. abs.; *two* (questions) *being before them;* more freely: *being called to decide whether it was best*, etc. — **μετὰ.. γενομ.**, *joining the barbarians.* — **κρεῖττον**: pred. adj. agr. with *ἐλευθ.*; H. 522; G. 138, N. 2, (c).

34, 35. παῖδας, γυν., μητ.: emphatic omission of the art.; H. 530, c. Observe the same omission in transl. — **ὃ τίς...ἰδών**, *on seeing which, who would not?* etc. — **ὡς...ἡγωνίσθη**, *considering how great and terrible a danger ...was encountered;* instead of a causal cl. introd. by *ὅτι οὕτως*, we have an exclamation expressing the thought subjectively; H. 815; *Gr. Moods*, 65, 4. — **ποῖ. γνώμην**, *what feelings.* — **τοῦ...κινδύνου** (sc. *ὄντος ἀπίστου*), *the approaching conflict being of doubtful issue.* — **ὑπὲρ τ. φιλότητος**, *for their loved ones;* explained in the cl. immediately following. *φιλότης, affection*, is poetically put for the object of the affection; cf. Plato, *ἐγγυτάτου τοῦ πόθου, nearest the object of his desire;* he has also *ὦ φιλότης, my dear.*

36, 37. περιεστήκει: see note on *περιεστ.*, § 32. — **τὸ...προειδέναι**, *the prospect of their own death;* subj. of *εἶναι.* — **συμφοράν**, *calamity*, pred. nom. agr. with the antec. of *ἃ*. — **εὐτυχ.**: H. 789, e; G. 277, 4; **ὑπεκτεθ.**: cf. *ὑπεκθ.*, § 34; **ἤλπιζον**, *were expecting.* — **ἦ που**, *doubtless;* *ἦ* confirmative, as also in § 40, before *πολύ*. — **τὴν δὲ...πορθουμένην**, *and that the land was suffering devastation;* note the change of tense from the preced. — **ἱερῶν δὲ...ἀκού. δέ**: H. 794; *Gr. Moods*, 111.

38. **ἐν ταὐτῷ**, *at the same time.* — **κραυγῆς τῶν διαφ.**, *the shrieks of the perishing.* — **τῆς θαλ. μεστῆς**: the sense requires another part., say *αἰσθανόμενοι, perceiving*, instead of *ἀκούοντες*. A striking illustration of this figure, zeugma, is found in *N. T.*, 1 *Cor.* iii. 2: *γάλα ὑμᾶς ἐπότισα, οὐ βρῶμα*, "*I gave you milk to drink, not meat.*" Farrar (*Greek Syntax*), quoting this ex., remarks: "This figure of speech is very rare in English, and illustrates more than any other the Greek quickness of apprehension." — **οὔσης τῆς ναυμαχ.**: causal, and to be joined with **δοκ.**, *because of the naval battle being undecided, thinking;* **τοτὲ μέν...τοτὲ δέ**, *now...and now.*

39. **ἂν...εἶδον**: H. 810, and a; G. 153, N. 1, and 148, N. 3. — **θυσιῶν ἀναμν.**, lit. *remindings of sacrifices, enumeration* (to the gods) *of sacrifices offered.* Others differently, as L. & S.: *recollection of vows to pay sacrifices;* Reiske: *quæ non concipiebantur victimarum vota.* — **ἔλεος...παίδων**, *compassion for children;* all these genitives objective; H. 565; G. 167, 3.

40, 41. **τάλλης**: H. 577, a; G. 171, 2, and Rem. — **κατὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν ...διήνεγκαν**, *surpassed, were superior to;* see note, § 12, on *ἀρετή*. — **βασιλευομένων**, *subjects of a king.*

42, 43. **πλεῖστα...καὶ κάλλ...συνεβ.**, *they made the greatest and most honorable contributions.* — **ἱκανὼτ....πρᾶξαι**: describing the ideal leader; **γνῶναι**, *to form a judgment, to decide*, including the power to comprehend the exigencies of a crisis, and to decide on the requisite action. — **καίτοι**, *accordingly;* **ἂν...ἤρισαν** (*ἐρίζω*), *would have contended, claimed to be equal;* **γνώμῃ**, *judgment;* cf. *γνῶναι*, above. — **ἀναμφισβ.**, *without dispute;* pred. adj.; **ὁμοιοῦσαν**, *corresponding to, commensurate with.* — **γνησίαν ...καὶ αὐτόχ.**, *genuine and native;* the first implying that their valor was not a spurious or assumed virtue; the second, that it was not an imported one, or borrowed from others.

44, 45. **κοινὴν...ἐκτήσ.**, *they gained a common freedom for the rest also;* the verb foll. by a pred. adj. as in §§ 5, 43, and 24. — **Ἰσθμόν**: the building of the wall across the Isthmus had been begun on the approach of Xerxes. It was resumed on the approach of Mardonius, who, however, after invading Attica, fell back into Bœotia, where the campaign was ended by the battle of Platæa. — **ἀγαπώντων...σωτ.**, *being content with their own safety.* — **διαν....περιιδεῖν**, *purposing to look on and allow;* **ὑπὸ...γενομένους**: cf. *μετὰ...γενομ.*, § 33. — **Ἀθηναῖοι**: as Herodotus relates it, it was Chileüs, a Tegean, who reminded the Lacedæmonians of the uselessness of their plan of self-defence. (Bk. IX. 9.) — **ἐκείνους**: i. e. the Persians; **τούτους**: i.e. the Peloponnesians. — **ἔσεσθαι...βασιλ.**, *would belong to the king;* on the omission of the art., see H. 530, a.

46, 47. **διδασκ.**, *suffering themselves to be taught;* one meaning of the pass., and suitable to the tense used. — **αὐτοὶ μέν**: emphasizes the subj. of *ποιεῖν* and *βουλ.*, in contrast with *Ἀθηναίους*. — **αὐτοῖς**: after *παραινεῖν*;

ἐβοήθ. ἐς: cf. *ἐβοήθ. ἐπί*, § 30. — **τοὺς ἀπογν.**, *who had despaired of.* — **βέβαιον**: constr. like *κοινήν*, § 43; **κατεργ.**, *achieved, secured.* — **μεθ' ὧν**: *with whom, on whose side.* — **ἡγεμόνες**: the Athenian hegemony (*ἡγεμονία*), or leadership in Grecian affairs, is usually dated from about 477 B. C.; see Grote, Vol. V. p. 290 *seq.* The battle of Platæa was fought in 479.

48. In §§ 48–53, mention is made of the war against Corinth and Ægina in alliance with Sparta. It broke out 457 B. C. Little is known concerning it. Thucydides is the chief authority, and his account is almost as brief as this. See Thucyd., Bk. I. 105, 106; also Grote, Vol. V. p. 320 *seq.* The speaker, indeed, seems to have taken Thucydides as his authority, if we may judge from the strikingly similar phraseology.

καταστάντος...γεγ., *having broken out through jealousy on account of what had taken place;* **τῶν πεπραγ.**: ref. to the achievements of the Athenians. — **μικρῶν...δεόμ.**, *and each needing but few grievances*, i. e. pretexts for war. — **ναυμ. Ἀθ....γενομένης**, *a naval battle having been fought by the Athenians.* — **ἐλάμβανον**: ref. to *Ἀθηναίοις* for its subj. Observe the irregularity of construction above, by which *φρονοῦντες* and *δεόμενοι* are in the nom. instead of the gen. absol.; H. 886. See a similar instance, *Hellen.*, II. 2. 3: *ὁ ἕτερος...παραγγέλων.*

49. πολιορκούντων: sc. *Ἀθηναίων*; H. 791, a. — **τῆς ἡλ. ἀπούσης**, *the men capable of bearing arms being absent;* **ἡλικία**, in this and similar connections, denotes *the age during which Athenians were liable to military duty.* They were enrolled as citizens at 18; then, after serving two years in the home-guard, were liable to military duty abroad from 20 to 60, — in all 42 years of nominal or actual service. In a collective sense, *ἡ ἡλικία* (also the pl. *αἱ ἡλικίαι*) denotes the entire military force of the city, namely, the 42 successive enrolments or military classes which constituted the Athenian army. — **ἔρημον**: pred.; cf. *ἐρήμην* in § 32; **ἐμβαλεῖν** is fut. — **ἄξειν τὸ στρατ.**, *that they would draw off the encamped army.* — **Γέρανειαν**: Geraneia, the mountain-range west of Megara.

50. τῶν μὲν ἀπ., *some* (of their troops) *being at a distance*, i. e. in Egypt; **τῶν δέ**, *others*, i. e. those in Ægina; **οὐδένα...μεταπέμπ.**, *had the courage not to send for either.* — **οἱ...γεγονότες**, *those who were under the military age.* Cf. Thuc.: *οἱ πρεσβύτατοι καὶ οἱ νεώτατοι, the oldest and the youngest.* — **τὸν κίνδ. ποιήσασθαι**: cf. § 21; **αὐτοὶ μόνοι**: join with the subj. of the infinitive.

51, 52. οἱ μέν, *the former;* **αὐτοί**, *themselves*, i. e. *in their own experience.* They had no need to imitate others, but simply to repeat their own deeds. — **Μυρωνίδου στρατ.**, *with Myronides as general;* **ἁπαντ. αὐτοί**: see *αὐτός*, I. & S., I. 3. — **τοῖς ἤδη ἀπ.**, *those now past service;* i. e. disabled by old age; this and the foll. phrase are in the instrum. dat., where the nom. would be more natural, the ref. being to the same persons as the

subj. — **τοὺς...ἀπαντήσαντες**, *having gone* (I say) *into a foreign land to meet those who had presumed to invade theirs;* I have added parentheses to the text of Scheibe.

53. **οἱ μὲν...σώμασιν** (sc. *δυνάμενοι*): syn. with *τοῖς...ἀπειρηκόσι*, above. — **κρείττους**: their bravery superior to their physical strength. — **οἱ μὲν... ἐπαιδεύοντο**, *the latter went back to their teachers;* **παιδεύομαι** (pass.), *to receive instruction.*

54. The orator now epitomizes (§§ 54 - 57) the beneficial results of the policy pursued by Athens during her primacy in Greece; the contrast of succeeding events might well bring Hellas to these tombs bewailing her buried liberties (58 - 60).

ἐν ἅπ....χρόνῳ: not the same as *ὁ πᾶς χρόνος*, § 1, but *the whole period* treated of in this discourse. — **τῶν...ἀνδρῶν**: including those previously buried in the Ceramicus.

55, 56. **παρασχόντες**, *rendering;* syn. with *ἀποδείκνυμι*. See Lex. — **τοῖς ὀλίγοις**: the policy of Sparta was to establish oligarchies in her dependencies. — **τὸ ἴσον**, *equality;* H. 496; G. 139, 2. — **κἀκείνους**, *them too;* the policy of the Athenians (he maintains) was to strengthen their allies as well as themselves. — **ὁ μ. βασιλεύς**: i. e. the Persian monarch. — **ἐδίδου... ἑαυτοῦ**, *was yielding up some of his own possessions;* H. 574, e; G. 170, 1.

57. **καὶ οὔτε**: the foll. clauses also dep. on *ὥστε*. — **προστάτας, ἡγεμόνας**, *champions, leaders;* **γίγνεσθαι**: its subj. is implied: the living Athenians who stood in the places of the fallen.

58. **ἀπολομένων**: at Ægospotami. — **εἴτε ἡγ. κακίᾳ**, *whether* (it was) *by a commander's treason.* "Of this suspicion both Konon and Philokles stand clear. Adeimantus was named as the chief traitor, and Tydeus along with him." Grote, Vol. VIII. p. 220; see also his note. — **συμφορᾶς**: pred. after *γενομ.* For *ἐκείνης*, see H. 513, c; agrees with its pred.-noun. — **ἦν**, *had been.* Says Grote (Vol. VIII. p. 191): "We shall be warranted in affirming that the first years of the Spartan empire, which followed upon the victory of Ægospotami, were years of all-pervading tyranny and multifarious intestine calamity, such as Greece had never before endured."

59. **ἐτ....ἡγεμόνων**: ref. to the Lacedæmonian hegemony, or supremacy. — **οἱ...ἐμβαίνοντες**, *those who formerly did not embark upon the sea;* i. e. the Persians. The Persian fleet of Pharnabazus conquered the fleet of Sparta and her allies at Cnidus, B. C. 394. (Cf. Grote, IX. p. 282; Curtius, II. p. 254 *seq.*) It was the Athenian Conon, however, who commanded the Persians. — **εἰς τ. Εὐρώπην**: Pharnabazus with his fleet sailed the following spring to the Peloponnesian coast. "The appearance of a Persian satrap with a Persian fleet, as master of the Peloponnesian Sea and the Saronic Gulf, was a phenomenon astounding to Grecian eyes. And if it was not equally offensive to Grecian sentiment, this was in itself a melancholy

proof of the degree to which Pan-hellenic patriotism had been stifled by the Peloponnesian War and the Spartan empire. No Persian tiara had been seen near the Saronic Gulf since the battle of Salamis." (Grote, IX. p. 321.) — **δουλεύουσι**, *are in slavery;* **ἐγκαθ.**, *have been placed in power.* These things could hardly have been said till some time after the conclusion of the treaty of Antalcidas, B. C. 387. How great the humiliation of Greece was at that time, see depicted by Grote, IX. 385, and the foll. chapter.

60. ἄξιον ἦν: sc. **ἀν.** — **ὥστε...ἀρετῇ**: quoted by Pausanias, and supposed to be the passage freely quoted by Aristotle (*Rhet*, III. 10), who instances it as a happy combination of antithesis with personifying metaphor; "had he said there was reason she should weep, her liberty having been buried with them, it would indeed have been metaphor and personification; but the words 'her liberty,' 'their valor,' have a certain antithesis"; **ὡς, κ. τ. λ.**, *considering that her own liberty was being buried with their valor;* **αὐτῶν**: ref. to the collective Ἑλλάδι. Lycurgus (*Orat. ag. Leocrates*, 50) says of the dead at Chæronea: *συνετάφη γὰρ τοῖς τούτων σώμασιν ἡ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερία.* — **ἑτέρων...λαβόμενος**, *in meeting other leaders;* i. e. when the Greeks were led by others than Athenians. — **τῷ δὲ...ζῆλος ἐγγίνεται**, *while in the latter there is springing up a disposition to emulate,* etc.

61. An eloquent tribute (§§ 61–66) to those who fell fighting under Thrasybulus for the restoration of the Athenian democracy. This could be fitly spoken by Lysias, who had shared the reverses and the triumph of the exiles.

ἐξήχθην, *I have been led off;* **ταῦτα μέν**: obj. of ὀλοφ., *to give utterance to these lamentations.* Observe the antithetic *μέν* and *δέ*; these lamentations for Greece are aside from the purpose of my discourse; my eulogy finds a more fitting theme in those men who restored free government to Athens. — **περὶ τοῦ δικαίου**: as in § 17. — **πάντας...κεκτ.**, *having made all men their enemies;* rhetorical exaggeration, referring to the fact mentioned at the end of § 62, that they fought not only against the enemies of their country, but against their countrymen themselves.

62. κοινὴν...καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, *as a common possession to the rest also;* **ψυχαῖς**, *courage.* — **οὐχ...ὀργιζόμενοι**: this contrast of blended motives, — shame and rage, — is a fine one. — **πολεμίους δέ, κ. τ. λ.**, *and* (having) *as enemies* (not only) *those who were formerly* (such), *but also*, etc.

63. σώμασι.. ἑαυτῶν: i. e. not depending on mercenaries alone. — **μάρτυρας**: appos. with *τοὺς...τάφους.* Xenophon mentions that the Lacedæmonians who fell in one of the engagements were buried in the Ceramicus. (*Hellen.*, II. 4. 33.) — **καὶ γάρ τοι**: see note, § 20. — **ἀπέδειξαν, ἀπέφηναν**: both these verbs are used in the sense *to cause to be, to render.* — **τείχη**: it was Conon who rebuilt the walls, after the battle of Cnidus, 394.

64. **αὐτῶν**: partit. gen.; **ἀδελφὰ...τοῖς ἔργοις**, *kindred to the deeds.* — **ἐτράποντο**, *devoted themselves;* read the remarks of Grote (IX. p. 367) on the character of Thrasybulus. He says: "In him the energy of a successful leader was combined with complete absence both of vindictive antipathies for the past, and of overbearing ambition for himself. — **ἐλαττοῦσθαι ... πλέον ἔχειν**: the ref. is to their privileges as citizens; render: *neither being able to suffer encroachment upon their privileges, nor wanting to have more for themselves* (i. e. more than had belonged to them under the constitution). — **μετέδοσαν**, *gave a share of;* foll. by **τῆς...ἐλευθερίας.**

65. **ὅτι...ἐδυσ.**: obj. cl. after **ἀπελογ.**, *they repelled the charges against them*, (showing) *that*, etc. — **βίᾳ**, *in spite of;* H. 565. — **ὁμονοοῦντες**: conditional, as shown by the **ἄν** belonging with **ἐδύναντο.**

66. A brief mention of the allies and mercenary troops that assisted Thrasybulus. The "men of Phyle" received reinforcements from the Megarians and Argives, and more especially from the Thebans.

τῷ πλήθει, *the people;* see note, XII. 42. — **πατρίδα...ἡγησάμενοι**, *regarding valor as their native country;* that is, regarding as their home and country any spot where glory was to be won.

67. The eulogy (§§ 67 – 76) of those whose remains were now receiving interment.

καινοὶ...γενόμενοι, *entering into a new alliance;* the part. logically subordinate to **βοηθήσαντες**, hence without a connective; cf. a similar use of **γενόμ.** in § 69. On the formation of this league, see Curtius's *Hist.*, Vol. IV. p. 243. — **οὐ...ἔχοντες**: causal and explanatory; *for they did not cherish the same spirit*, etc.; from **οὐ** on through the parenthesis may better be rendered at the close of the sentence. — **οἱ μέν**, *the latter;* **οἱ δέ**, *but they;* i. e. the Athenians who aided the Corinthians. — **τῆς προτ. ἔχθρας**: as a Peloponnesian state and an ally of Sparta, Corinth had more than once been at war with Athens. The Peloponnesian War, it will be remembered, began by the Athenians taking the part of the Corcyræans against Corinth.

68. **μεγάλην...Ἑλλάδα**, *endeavoring to render Hellas great;* a use of the part. similar to **χαριζόμενοι**, § 8. — **ἐκείνων**: ref. to **τῶν πολεμίων.** In their contest with Sparta, they were fighting the battles of the very states that were in league with Sparta, — the tributary states of the Peloponnesus. — **νικήσαντες**, *when victorious;* **τῶν αὐτῶν**: the same liberties that they themselves enjoyed.

69, 70. **οὗτοι**: the same as **οἱ θαπτόμενοι**, § 67. — **διασώσαντες**, *having kept untarnished.* — **ἐπηνώρθωσαν**: double argument; H. 314; G. 105, N. 3; render: *made good the ill-successes of others.* — **τὰ τροφεῖα**, *the filial debt;* the debt due to their country for their rearing and education; see Lex.

71, 72. **τοῦ ἐπ. βίου**, *because of the life still left them;* H. 577, a; G. 173, 1. — **περὶ ἐλάττονος...ἡγούμενοι**: see note, XII. 7. — **ἀδελφούς**,

κ. τ. λ.: art. omitted; see note to § 34. — πολλῶν...ὑπαρχόντων: gen. abs.; cf. XII. 97. Müller: *in tanta malorum multitudine et gravitate;* render: *in view of the many sufferings to which they are exposed.* — νεώτεροι ...ἢ ὥστε εἰδέναι, *too young to know;* H. 768; οἷων: H. 825, b, last rem.; Kühn., 344, Rem. 1, last sentence.

73. τούτων: neut., after the comparative; it refers to the following clauses. — ἀδυνάτους...τῷ σώματι: cf. *τοῖς σώμασιν... δυνάμενοι*, § 53. ὑπὸ ἐλεεῖσθαι: i. e. that those same ones who formerly envied them should now be looking on them with pity, — one of the sharpest "arrows of outrageous fortune." — ἀνδ. ἀμείνους: pred. after ἦσαν.

74. πῶς...χρή, *and how are they to*, etc. See L. & S., *χρή*, II. — ἀλλὰ ...μεμνῆσθαι, *nay, it is reasonable at such a time that the rest* (of the citizens) *remember them*, i. e. the bereaved; ἀλλά thus used implies *not so! on the contrary;* it is sometimes rendered *why.* The next ἀλλά introd. one of the series of rhetorical questions, and may be rendered *or;* see note, XII. 40. — λυπῆσαι: subj. of *ἐστί* understood. — ἀλλὰ...κινδύνοις: the answer to this question, instead of being introd. by ἀλλά, *but*, like the preceding question, is made a cl. dep. on the interrog. sent. itself. — μέγα φρονοῦντας, κ. τ. λ., *exulting over their misfortunes;* τούτων seems to be used instead of *αὐτῶν*, because the persons referred to are present before the speaker.

75. χάριν: pred. accus., *ταύτην* being the direct obj. of *ἀποδ.*; H. 556; G. 166, N. 2; for the gender of ταύτην, which refers to the rest of the sentence, commencing with *εἰ*, see note XII. 37. Render: *it seems to me that this is the only return we can make.* Observe, however, that *μόνην* agrees with *ταύτην.* — περὶ...ποιούμεθα, *should highly honor.* — ὥσπερ...ὄντες, *as if we were ourselves their fathers.*

76. τῶν ζώντων: gen. after *τίνας.* — προσήκοντας: used substantively, but foll. by the same case as its verb. It is sometimes foll. (as a subst.) by a limiting gen. — τὸ ἴσον τ. ἄλλοις, *equally with the rest*, i. e. *no more than the rest.* — ἀποθανόντων: gen. abs.; supply *τούτων* from the preceding; H. 791, a; *Gr. Moods*, 110, 1, N. 2.

77. Peroration, administering consolation to the surviving friends of the deceased. Death is the common lot of man. These now buried are not to be lamented, but counted happy; for they chose their own destiny, and have gained immortal honors.

ἀλλὰ γάρ: cf. XII. 99; *but.* — οὐ γὰρ...θνητοί, *for we were not unaware of our being mortal;* H. 801; G. 279, 2; *Gr. Moods*, 112, 2, and Rem. The student would do well to note two points in regard to this characteristically Greek construction: first, that λανθάνω, *to escape the notice of*, is an active verb, though not usually translated by such in Eng.; second, that the part. ὄντες (with *θνητοί*) not only agrees *grammatically* with the subject, but

is *logically* an integral part of the subject. Cf. **οἶδα θνητὸς ὤν**, *I know that I am mortal*, in which the part. with the adj. logically forms a part of the object. — **ἢ...φέραν**, *or to be so exceedingly sad.* — **ὁ θάνατος, κ. τ. λ.**: cf. Horace, *Odes*, I. 4:

> "Pallida Mors æquo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas
> Regumque turres."

"Pale Death with impartial foot strikes at the hovels of the poor and the towers of princes."

78. ἄξιον (ἦν): **ἄν** also to be supplied, as in § 60. — **καὶ νόσων...γήρως**, *subject both to diseases and to old age*; gen. after compar. — **ὁ...εἱληχώς**, *who presides over, to whom is allotted.* The orations contain no intimation more distinct than this of Lysias's religious conceptions; see note, XIII. 63.

79. οἵτινες, *in that they*; the indef. relat. with a slight causal force; H. 822; *Gr. Moods*, 65, 4. — **οὐκ...τῇ τύχῃ**, *not intrusting themselves* (lit. *concerning themselves*) *to fortune*; **ἐπιτρέπω** is usually followed by the accus. and dat., but **ἐπ. τινὶ περί τινος**, *to trust to one concerning something*, is a construction found in Plato and Menander. — **καὶ γάρ τοι**: see note, § 26. Müller, however, renders: *nam profecto*, which would introd. the reason for **προσήκει...ἡγεῖσθαι**, above.

80. οἵ: for a similar emphatic use of the rel., see XII. 40; the cl. has a causal force, being explanatory of the preceding. — **ἀγῶνες...ῥώμης καὶ σοφίας καὶ πλούτου**: Pluto says (*Menex.*, 21) of Athens: "She never ceases honoring the dead every year, celebrating in public the rites which are proper to each and all; and in addition to this, holding gymnastic and equestrian festivals, and musical festivals of every sort." (Jowett's transl.) A parallel passage to the present section is found in the fragment remaining from the Olympic oration of Lysias, mentioning the establishment of the Olympic Games by Hercules: "After he had put down the tyrants, and checked the insolence of the oppressors, he instituted in the fairest spot of Hellas a contest of bodies, and an ambitious display of wealth, and an exhibition of intellect." XXXIII. 2. — **ὡς...ὄντας**: H. 793; G. 278, N.; **ταῖς αὐτ....ἀθανάτους**, *with the same honors as the immortals*; i. e. the gods. For **καί** after **ὁ αὐτός**, see H. 856, c.

81. θανάτου: H. 577; G. 173, 1. — **γενέσθαι**: dep. on **κρεῖττον**; **οἵτινες**: see note, § 79. — **ὅμως δέ**, *but yet*; in adversative contrast with the preceding sent., introd. by **μέν**. — **θεραπεύοντας**, *honoring.*

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

TO ILLUSTRATE

THE ORATIONS OF LYSIAS CONTAINED IN THIS VOLUME.

B. C.

444. Birth of Lysias.

431. Beginning of the Peloponnesian War; April 4.

429. Cephalus, the father of Lysias, removes with his family to Thurii.

421. The Peace of Nicias.

413. The Sicilian Expedition.

411. Lysias and his brother Polemarchus return to Athens.
The Four Hundred, — in power about four months, from March to June.

406. Battle of Arginusæ; September.

405. Battle of Ægospotami; August.
Committee of Five "Ephors"; Autumn.
Blockade of Athens. Theramenes sent as ambassador to Sparta; Autumn.

404. Second embassy of Theramenes; Spring.
Surrender of Athens to Lysander, — the end of the Peloponnesian War; latter part of April.
Establishment of the Thirty Tyrants; June.
Execution of Dionysodorus and others; Summer.
A Spartan garrison placed in the Acropolis; about October.
Reaction among the Thirty. The execution of Theramenes.

403. Thrasybulus takes possession of Phyle; about January.
Victory of Thrasybulus in Munychia; flight of the Thirty, and appointment of the Ten; February.

Thrasybulus holds Piræus and Munychia; Spring and Summer.

Skirmish with the Spartans near the Piræus; June.

Negotiations with Pausanias; Summer.

Return of the Exiles headed by Thrasybulus, Sept. 21, and the Restoration of the democratic constitution. Euclides chosen First Archon.

Oration against Eratosthenes.

401 – 400. Expedition of Cyrus, and Retreat of the Ten Thousand.

399. Trial and death of Socrates.

395. Beginning of the Corinthian War.

394. Battle of Cnidus; August.

387. Peace of Antalcidas.

THE END.

EDUCATIONAL PUBLICATIONS

OF

S. C. GRIGGS & CO., Chicago.

Retail Prices.

BOISE'S FIRST LESSONS IN GREEK. Adapted to Goodwin's and Hadley's Larger and Smaller Greek Grammars, and intended as an Introduction for Xenophon's Anabasis. By JAMES R. BOISE, Ph. D ..... $ 1.25

"I find Professor Boise's 'Greek Lessons' wellnigh invaluable in my classes."— C. W. GUERNSEY, *Russell's Collegiate Institute, New Haven, Conn.*

BOISE'S HOMER'S ILIAD. The First Six Books of Homer's Iliad; with Explanatory Notes, and References to the Grammars of Goodwin and Hadley. A new Edition, with Notes revised and largely rewritten. By JAMES R. BOISE, Ph. D. 1.50

"Incomparably superior to any other edition of Homer ever published in this country."— M. L. D'OOGE, Ph. D., *Professor of Greek, University of Michigan.*

BOISE AND FREEMAN'S SELECTIONS FROM VARIOUS GREEK AUTHORS. For the first year in College, with Explanatory Notes and References to Goodwin's Greek Grammar, and to Hadley's Larger and Smaller Grammars 2.00

"I found the book so admirable in the matter selected, in the soundness and accuracy of the annotations, and in the unusual excellence of the press-work, that I could not do otherwise than urge its adoption, and my high opinion of the book has been corroborated by daily use."— A. H. BUCK, A. M., *Professor of Greek, Boston University.*

JONES'S EXERCISES IN GREEK PROSE COMPOSITION. With References to Hadley's, Goodwin's, and Taylor's-Kühner's Greek Grammars, and a full English-Greek Vocabulary. By ELISHA JONES, A. M., University of Michigan 1.00

BOISE'S EXERCISES IN GREEK SYNTAX. Being Exercises in some of the more difficult Principles of Greek Syntax; with References to the Grammars of Crosby, Curtius, Goodwin, Hadley, Koch, and Kühner. A Sequel to "Jones's Exercises in Greek Prose Composition," and intended for the First Year in College. By JAMES R. BOISE, Ph. D. 1.50

"'Professor Jones's Exercises' and 'Dr. Boise's Exercises in Greek Syntax' are *a vast improvement* upon ——'s books on Prose Composition. I like much the principles upon which they are constructed. . . . . The two works taken together constitute an apparatus which is unsurpassed, or rather, if I mistake not, unequalled for the acquisition of a thorough and familiar acquaintance with Greek forms."— H. M. BAIRD, Ph. D., *Professor of Greek, University of the City of New York.*

D'OOGE'S DEMOSTHENES ON THE CROWN. With Extracts from the Oration of Æschines against Ctesiphon, and Explanatory Notes. By M. L. D'OOGE, Ph. D., Professor of Greek, University of Michigan 1 75

"I have examined it again and again, and am better satisfied with it than any other text-book on 'The Crown' I have seen. I shall therefore use it in preference to all others."— R. B. YOUNGMAN, A. M., *Professor of Greek, LaFayette College, Pa.*

STEVENS'S SELECT ORATIONS OF LYSIAS. With Introductions and Explanatory Notes. By PROFESSOR W. A. STEVENS, A. M. 1.50

"We are using 'Stevens's Lysias' with the greatest satisfaction."— M. L. D'OOGE, Ph. D., *Professor of Greek, University of Michigan.*

*** *Special terms will be made for Introduction.*

JONES'S FIRST LESSONS IN LATIN. Adapted to the Latin Grammars of Allen and Greenough, Andrews and Stoddard, Bartholomew, Bullions and Morris, Gildersleeve, and Harkness, and prepared as an Introduction to Cæsar's Commentaries on the Gallic War. By ELISHA JONES, A. M., University of Michigan ..... $ 1.25

"Our adoption of your new Latin Book is the best testimony we are able to give. I like it much: do not see how it could be improved." — G. W. SHURTLEFF, A. M., *Professor of Latin, Oberlin College.*

THOMPSON'S FIRST LATIN BOOK. By D. G. THOMPSON, A. M..... 1.50

"I should expect a student well trained in this text-book to make sure and rapid progress in the subsequent books of an extended Latin course." — PRESIDENT CHASE, *Haverford College.*

ZUR BRÜCKE'S GERMAN WITHOUT GRAMMAR OR DICTIONARY; or, A Guide to Learning and Teaching the German Language, according to the Pestalozzian method of teaching, by Object Lessons..... .50

"It makes the study of German as much a recreation as a task." — *New York Weekly Tribune.*

PETERSON'S NORWEGIAN-DANISH GRAMMAR AND READER. With a Vocabulary, designed for American Students of the Norwegian-Danish Language. By PROFESSOR C. I. P. PETERSON 1.25

"I rejoice to see the door opened to American students to the treasures of Norwegian letters, and in so attractive a manner as in Mr. Peterson's work." — PROFESSOR F. SEWELL, *President of Urbana University.*

ANDERSON'S NORSE MYTHOLOGY; or, The Religion of our Forefathers. Containing all the Myths of the Eddas carefully systematized and interpreted, with an Introduction, Vocabulary, and Index. By R. B. ANDERSON, A. M., Professor in the University of Wisconsin..... 2.50

"Professor Anderson's work is incomparably superior to the already existing books of this order." —*Scribner's Monthly.*

BACON'S MANUAL OF GESTURE With 100 Figures, embracing a complete System of Notation, with the Principles of Interpretation, and Selections for Practice. By PROFESSOR A. M. BACON 1.50

"The work comprehends all that is valuable on the subject of Gesture." — R. L. CUMNOCK, A. M., *Professor of Elocution, Northwestern University.*

BUCKINGHAM'S ELEMENTS OF THE DIFFERENTIAL AND INTEGRAL CALCULUS. By a New Method, founded on the True System of Sir Isaac Newton, without the use of Infinitesimals or Limits. By PROFESSOR C. P. BUCKINGHAM 2.00

"Its propositions must command the *unqualified assent* of the learner, which can hardly be said of the infinitesimal method." — J. R. FRENCH, LL. D., *Professor of Mathematics, Syracuse University.*

MATHEWS'S WORDS; THEIR USE AND ABUSE. By WM. MATHEWS, LL. D., author of "Getting on in the World" 2.00

"This book contains the pith of all rhetoric. If read carefully by advanced pupils, it would be worth more to them than all the rhetorics and composition books of their course. It will greatly help teachers who have to teach English." — *Home and School, Louisville.*

ROBERT'S RULES OF ORDER, for Deliberative Assemblies. By MAJOR H. M. ROBERT ..... .75

"*Every teacher should have this book*, and at times resolve the school or the higher classes, into a parliament, a talking body, and show his pupils how public business is done." — *Wisconsin Journal of Education.*

*** *Books will be mailed postpaid on receipt of price.*

"It deserves a place in libraries beside the great and classic essayists of other days." — *Baptist Union, New York.*

THE GREAT CONVERSERS,

AND OTHER ESSAYS.

By WILLIAM MATHEWS, LL. D.,

Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature in the University of Chicago, Author of "Getting on in the World."

1 vol. 12mo. 306 pages. With Map. Price, $1.75.

"We certainly have no American essayist who surpasses Prof. Mathews in adorning his pages with ample and elegant illustrations. They are perhaps unequalled for polish and pungency." — *New York Home Journal.*

"They are written in that charming and graceful style which is so attractive in this author's writings, and the reader is continually reminded by their ease and grace of the elegant compositions of Goldsmith and Irving. . . . . We commend the volume to all lovers of good writing, who enjoy the luxury of an easy, flowing style, and who love to be instructed while they are entertained." — *Boston Transcript.*

"These essays are on divers subjects, biographical, literary, and social, and show an unusual combination of information, good sense, and good writing. The style is their great charm. It is easy, clear, happy, and forcible. It entertains the reader whatever subject is treated, and the satisfaction is all the greater because what is so delightfully said is of itself so well worth saying. Once one begins to read he is beguiled on and on." — *Boston Advertiser.*

"He touches lightly on an immense number of subjects, he darts from flower to flower with the rapidity of the humming-bird, but with all his versatility he is rarely, if ever, superficial or crude, showing a habit of reflection and a refinement of taste that betray the cultivation of the scholar no less than the curiosity of the book-fancier. The work is an excellent one, and could have been produced by no one but a scholar of great reading, cultivated tastes, and prompt decision of choice." — *New York Tribune.*

"No one can possibly read the polished essays of Prof. Mathews without feeling that he has entered into a cultivated circle, and is privileged to share the communion of one who has touched the hem of the charmed garment. In the society of this skilful artist, the reader is led into the presence of living memories. One by one they pass before him, a procession of intellectual majesty, and, led by the hand of a trusty guide, he meets and is introduced to the men of whom he has heard or read, or whose works he may have studied. The essays of Prof. Mathews are among the most delightful that it has ever been our pleasure to read." — *Chicago Inter-Ocean.*

[illegible] BY S. C. GRIGGS & CO., CHICAGO.

"[illegible] any day ten times its cost for the tenth part it con-[illegible] A book [illegible] of sensible sense and sounder soundness [illegible] not seen for a long day." — *Sunday School Times, Phila.*

[illegible] IN THE WORLD.

[illegible] MATHEWS, LL.D.

[illegible] gilt edges, $2.50; Half calf binding, [illegible] Full cat, gilt edges, $5.00

[illegible] *President of Yale College.* — "A book [illegible]"

[illegible] *President of Rochester University, N. Y.* — [illegible]

[illegible] — "What wealth of illustration [illegible] and jurists!"

[illegible] — "The road to [illegible] with thought and [illegible] constantly arising in the [illegible] lawyer, preacher, [illegible] No one that reads the [illegible] being greatly benefited. Every [illegible] It should be found in every family [illegible]

[illegible] advice in this book." [illegible]

[illegible] of vivid bio-[illegible]

[illegible] every page, [illegible] — *Philadelphia* [illegible]

[illegible] a degree of refinement [illegible] While announcing the laws of [illegible] His appeals are not [illegible] — *New York Tribune.*

[illegible] of life; it does not [illegible] throughout. . . . [illegible] the author ap-[illegible] There is an electri-[illegible]

THE WORLD ON WHEELS,

AND OTHER SKETCHES.

By BENJAMIN F. TAYLOR.

Illustrated. 1 vol. 12mo. . . . . Price, $1.50.

"Reader, do you want to laugh? Do you want to cry? Do you want to climb the Jacob's ladder of imagination, and dwell among the clouds of fancy, for a little while at least? Do you? Then get B. F. Taylor's World on Wheels, read it, and experience sensations you never felt before! . . . It is a book of 'word pictures,' a string of pearls, the very poesy of thought." — *The Christian, St. Louis.*

"Full of humor, and sharp as a Damascus blade." — *Philadelphia Presbyterian.*

"The pen-pictures of B. F. Taylor are among the most brilliant and eccentric productions of the day. They are like the music of Gottschalk played by Gottschalk himself; or like sky-rockets that burst in the zenith, and fall in showers of fiery rain. They are word-wonders, reminding us of necromancy, with the dazzle and bewilderment of their rapid succession." — *Chicago Tribune.*

OLD-TIME PICTURES AND SHEAVES OF RHYME.

By B. F. TAYLOR.

Red-Line Edition, Small Quarto, Silk Cloth. With 8 fine Illustrations.
Price, $2.00. The same, full gilt edges, $2.50.

"It gives me pleasure to see the poems of B. F. Taylor issued by your house in a form worthy of their merit. Such pieces as the 'Old Village Choir,' 'The Skylark,' 'The Vane on the Spire,' and 'June,' deserve their good setting. . . . . I do not know of any one who so well reproduces the home scenes of long ago. There is a quiet humor that pleases me." — *John G. Whittier.*

"A poet he is in the true sense; a singer of songs so full of tenderness and melody that their memory lingers like a delicious fragrance. Several of his lyrics have become classic. . . . . His 'River of Time' is one of the most perfect poems in the language, original in conception, full of beautiful imagery, grandly sonorous in rhythm." — *San Francisco Bulletin.*

"Mr. Taylor is a word-painter unsurpassed in America. His style is rare, quaint, full of images as a brook of pebbles, and his rhythm waves and undulates as softly and as sensuously as the wind that sways the summer wheat. . . . . In the fields he sings the songs of the spring, and the passion flowers, of the roses, and the summer time. His are the birds'-notes. He interprets the quaint, low tune of the busy wren, the soaring snatches of the skylark, the liquid language of the oriole, the ever-sad and questioning call of the partridge, and the pheasant's everlasting monotone. He makes beautiful pictures. He gives one champagne to drink, — strong, effervescing, delightful." — *St. Louis Dispatch.*

PRE-HISTORIC RACES OF THE UNITED STATES.

BY J. W. FOSTER, LL. D.,

Author of "The Physical Geography of the Mississippi Valley," etc.

415 pages. Crown 8vo. With a large number of Illustrations. THIRD EDITION. Price, Cloth, $3.00; Half calf binding, gilt top, $5.00; Full calf, gilt edges, $6.50.

"One of the best and clearest accounts we have seen of those grand monuments of a forgotten race." — *London Saturday Review.*

"The book is typographically perfect, and with its admirable illustrations and convenient index is really elegant and a sort of luxury to possess and read. . . . . Dr. Foster goes over the ground inch by inch, and accumulates information of surprising interest and importance bearing on this subject, which he gives in his crowded but most instructive and entertaining chapters in a thoroughly scientific but equally popular way. We have marked whole pages of his book for quotation, and finally from sheer necessity have been compelled to put the whole volume in quotation marks as one of the few books that are indispensable to the student, and scarcely less important for the intelligent reader to have at hand for reference." — *The Golden Age, New York.*

"A careful examination of the book has satisfied us that it is one of the most interesting and important contributions to American archæology that have yet appeared, and will take rank among the leading treatises upon the general subject by European archæologists.

"We had thought of making some extracts from the volume, but it is so full of interest, from beginning to end, as to make selection perplexing, and were it not for the restraints of copyright we should be tempted to run the whole work through the "Popular Science Monthly," as it contains just the kind of information, in clear, compressed, and intelligible form, which is adapted to the mass of readers. . . . . The whole exposition is condensed into 400 pages, and the publishers have done their part, in the fine execution of the engravings, and the beautiful typography of the book." — *The Popular Science Monthly, New York.*

"The amount of information which is afforded, the number of important and illustrative facts that have been accumulated, the multitude of mute but indubitable evidences which zeal and industry have exhumed and collected, and which are recorded in the volume, give it a substantial and enduring value to the scholar and lover of science, and invest it with the charm of powerful interest to the non-professional but cultured reader.

"It forms a compendium of knowledge upon this deeply interesting subject of inquiry and investigation which is without any rival, — and we may say without a competitor in this country for fulness and accuracy. It therefore becomes indispensable to every public or private library worthy of the name." — *The Christian Intelligencer, New York.*

"An argument for the divine origin of the Christian religion of unanswerable force and extraordinary interest." — *The Evangelist, New York.*

THE

PHILOSOPHY OF THE PLAN OF SALVATION.

BY REV. J. B. WALKER, D.D.,

With an Introductory Essay by CALVIN E. STOWE, D.D. A new edition, with supplementary chapter by the author. SIXTY-SEVENTH THOUSAND. 1 vol. 12mo. Price, $1.50.

"Though written with great simplicity, it is evidently the production of a master mind, ... and few works are more adapted to bring sceptics of a certain class to a stand. . . . . It is the disclosure of the actual process of mind through which the author passes, from the dark regions of doubt and infidelity to the clear light and conviction of a sound and heartfelt belief in the truth as it is in Jesus.

"There is, in many parts of this treatise, a force of argument and a power of conviction almost resistless.

"It is a work of extraordinary power. . . . . We think it is *more likely to lodge an impression in the human conscience, in favor of the divine authority of Christianity*, than any work of the modern press." — *London Evangelical Magazine, England.*

"No single volume we ever read has been so satisfactory a demonstration of the truth of religion, or has had so strong a controlling influence over our habits of thought. . . . . No better book can be put into the hands of the honest and intellectual sceptic. It is overwhelmingly convincing to reason, and leaves the doubter nothing but his passions and prejudices to bolster him up. . . . . Every minister's library should have a copy." — *The Methodist Protestant, Baltimore.*

"We have commended this book before, — not too highly, for, like wine, it has improved by age. We wish it were in every library in the land, and its contents in every head." — *The Presbyterian, Philadelphia.*

THE DOCTRINE OF THE HOLY SPIRIT;

OR,

PHILOSOPHY OF THE DIVINE OPERATION IN THE REDEMPTION OF MAN.

Being volume second of "The Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation." By REV. J. B. WALKER, D. D. Fourth Edition, Revised and Enlarged. Price, $1.50.

"The author's former able works have prepared the public for the rich treasures of thought in this volume. It is a book of foundation principles, and deals in the verities of the gospel as with scientific facts. It is an unanswerable argument in behalf of Christ's life, mission, and doctrine, and especially rich in its teachings concerning the office and work of the Spirit. No volume has lately issued from the press which brings so many timely truths to the public attention. While it is metaphysical and thorough, it is also clever, forceful, winning for its grand truth's sake, and *every way readable*. The author has wrought a great work for the Christian Church, and *every minister and teacher should arm himself with strong weapons* by perusing the arguments of this book. It is printed and bound in the exquisite style of all publications which issue from Messrs. S. C. Griggs & Co.'s establishment." — *Methodist Recorder, Pittsburgh.*

"One of the most valuable books printed in modern times."
—Albany Press.

WORDS:
THEIR USE AND ABUSE.

BY PROF. WM. MATHEWS, LL. D.,

Author of "Thomas De Quincey and Other Essays," "Getting on in the World," and "The Great Conversers and Other Essays."

One handsome volume. 12mo. Cloth, $2 00.

"It can be read with profit by every intelligent student of the English language." — *The International Review, New York.*

"We heartily commend the work as rich in valuable suggestions to those who desire TO CULTIVATE ACCURACY IN SPEAKING AND WRITING." — *The Lutheran Quarterly Review.*

"THIS BOOK IS SO INTERESTING that the reader is tempted to take it with him for reading on the cars, or under the shade of the trees in his summer retreat, instead of the newspaper or the last novel." — *Boston Transcript.*

"AS INTERESTING AS A ROMANCE. . . . . It gives the condensed wisdom of every man who ever handled the subject of which it treats. . . . . It is a book that can be studied with profit by all men who love our noble tongue." — *Catholic Mirror, Baltimore.*

"We should like to put a copy of this book into the hands of every man and woman who is using our good old Anglo-Saxon with voice or pen for any public service. It is a text-book full of information." — *Christian at Work, New York.*

"A BOOK OF RARE INTEREST. . . . . From the chapter on "The Morality in Words," alone, a whole library of faults might be brought home to many readers, and a WORLD OF BENEFIT would be gleaned from it by those who care to improve themselves." — *Brooklyn Eagle.*

"This book cannot be read by any one without conveying a great many practical hints of easy application. . . . . It will lead to the REFORMATION OF THOUSANDS OF CARELESS TALKERS, and save sensitive ears from much unnecessary annoyance." — *The Christian Union, New York.*

"Such a work as this, in which much and varied reading has been digested and concentrated, and by good memory, solid judgment, and entire mastery of the art of uniting solidity with graceful easiness of style, may be regarded as a literary *bonne bouche*. . . . . The elder Disraeli never attained the art, of which the present volume is a fair and rare example, of blending graceful ease and dignified familiarity. The philologist will turn to Dr. Mathews's pages for exact information, while the general reader will be charmed by their extent of literary anecdote." — *Philadelphia Press.*